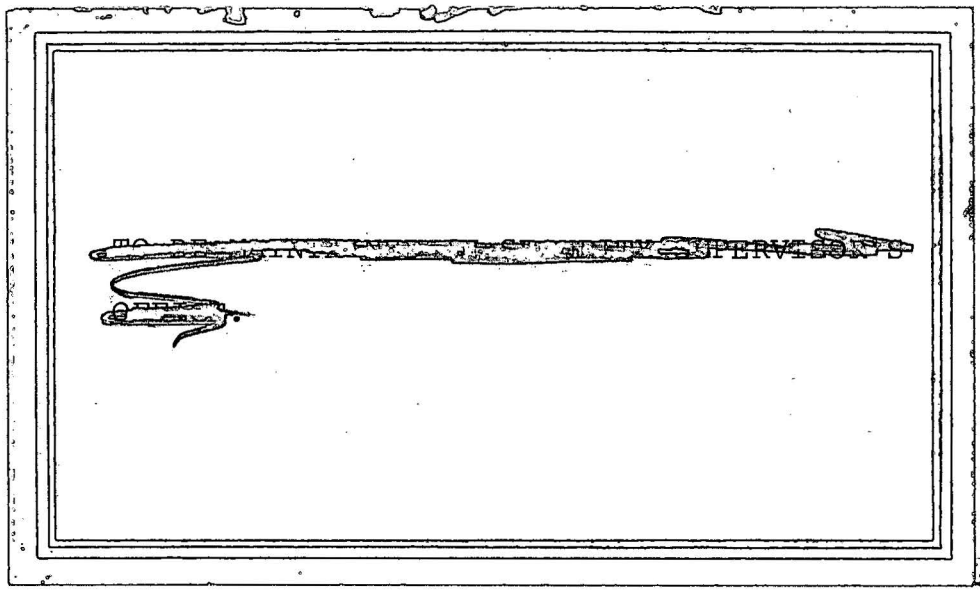
FD - 245 (REV. 4-13-60)

U. S. Department of Justice

(MATERIAL MUST NOT BE REMOVED FROM OR ADDED TO THIS FILE)

See Next Section

FEDERAL BUREAU



CLASSIFICATION NO. 62-2123

Volume Number 1

Serials 1-97

Screened By: Carrie Tallithet Smith Date: 05-18-2015 DOCID: 70001143 RD 41939

See also Nos.

Q

Action 12-24-74

SHAW-WALKER

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, Albany

DATE: 5/10/68

FROM : Director, FBI

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

Effective immediately, the Bureau is instituting a Counterintelligence Program directed against the New Left movement and its Key Activists. All offices are instructed to immediately open an active control file, captioned as above, and to assign responsibility for this program to an experienced and imaginative Special Agent who is well versed in investigation of the New Left and its membership.

The purpose of this program is to expose, disrupt, and otherwise neutralize the activities of the various New Left organizations, their leadership and adherents. It is imperative that the activities of these groups be followed on a continuous basis so we may take advantage of all opportunities for counterintelligence and also inspire action in instances where circumstances warrant. The devious maneuvers and duplicity of these activists must be exposed to public scrutiny through the cooperation of reliable news media sources, both locally and at the Seat of Government. We must frustrate every effort of these groups and individuals to consolidate their forces or to recruit new or youthful adherents. In every instance, consideration should be given to disrupting the organized activity of these groups and no opportunity should be missed to capitalize upon organizational and personal conflicts of their leadership.

On or before June 1, 1968, all offices are instructed to submit to the Bureau a detailed analysis of potential counterintelligence action against New Left organizations and Key Activists within their respective territories. Specific recommendations should be included for any logical immediate counterintelligence action. Recommendations submitted under this program must include all necessary facts to enable the Bureau to intelligently pass upon the feasibility of the proposed action. In instances where a reliable and cooperative news media representative or other

2 - All Offices

100-17364-562

100-21213-1

SEARCHED ... INDEXED ...
SERIALIZED ... FILED ...
MAY 15 1968
FBI — SAINT LOUIS

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 2

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

source outside the Bureau is to be contacted or utilized in connection with a proposed counterintelligence operation, it will be incumbent upon the recommending office to furnish assurances the source will not reveal the Bureau's interest or betray our confidence.

Offices which have investigative responsibility for Key Activists should specifically comment in the initial letter to the Bureau regarding these individuals. As these offices are aware, these individuals have been identified as the moving forces behind the New Left.

No counterintelligence action may be initiated by the field without specific Bureau authorization.

Commencing July 1, 1968, and every three months thereafter, each participating office should submit to the Bureau a status letter covering the prior 3-month period, including comments under the following captions.

tickler for
6.25
9.25
12.25 K
3.25 of each yr.

1) Potential Counterintelligence Action

2) Pending Counterintelligence Action

3) Tangible Results

If necessary, a fourth caption "Miscellaneous" may be utilized for additional comments.

Recommendations for counterintelligence action should not be included in the 90-day status letters to the Bureau, but should be submitted individually by separate letter.

All Special Agent personnel responsible for the investigation of the New Left and the Key Activists should be alerted to our counterintelligence plans relating to these groups. Counterintelligence action directed at these groups is intended to complement and stimulate our accelerated intelligence investigations. Each investigative Agent has a responsibility to call to the attention of the counterintelligence coordinator suggestions and possibilities for implementing the program. You are cautioned

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 3

that the nature of this new endeavor is such that under no circumstances should the existence of the program be made known outside the Bureau and appropriate within-office security should be afforded this sensitive operation.

The Bureau has been very closely following the activities of the New Left and the Key Activists and is highly concerned that the anarchistic activities of a few can paralyze institutions of learning, induction centers, cripple traffic, and tie the arms of law enforcement officials all to the detriment of our society. The organizations and activists who spout revolution and unlawfully challenge society to obtain their demands must not only be contained, but must be neutralized. Law and order is mandatory for any civilized society to survive. Therefore, you must approach this new endeavor with a forward look, enthusiasm, and interest in order to accomplish our responsibilities. The importance of this new endeavor cannot and will not be overlooked.

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 4

DIRECTOR, FBI 5/28/68

SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-21213) P

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

CONFIDENTIAL

ReBulet to Albany, 5/10/68.

New Left activity in the St. Louis Division is concentrated in the headquarters city. Principal organizations involved in this movement are as follows:

Action Committee to Increase Opportunities for Negroes (ACTION);

Students for Democratic Society (SDS);

St. Louis Draft Resistance (SLDR);

The Committee to Support Draft Resistance (CSDR).

ACTION is basically a racial type organization. It consists of a small group of individuals who split from the St. Louis Chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) several years ago in belief that CORE was not sufficiently militant. Its activities are irregular, depending almost entirely on its chairman, PERCY GREEN. Communist Party efforts to cultivate him have so far appeared unsuccessful; however, some influence is exerted through ORVILLE LEACH, veteran Communist Party member, who is chairman of the Community Relations Committee of ACTION.

An immediate Counterintelligence Program concerning the latter three organizations would be restricted because these organizations are all campus-type organizations and Washington University and St. Louis University will close for summer vacations in the first week of June. These organizations will be virtually out of existance until the schools reopen in September.

CONFIDENTIAL

2 - Bureau (Rm)
1 - St. Louis
HCJ:mjb
(3)

~~Classified by 3060 Exempt from GDS, Category 2 Date of Declassification Indefinite~~
~~Classified 11/6/75~~

100-21213-2

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
FILED

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 5

SL: 100-21213

St. Louis has pending investigations on these four organizations and their leadership and will be alert to any circumstances or conditions which might be utilized to good advantage for Counterintelligence purposes.

In the past this office has used to good advantage anonymous mailings in connection with Communist Party Counter-intelligence. However, at this time the office has no specific publications in mind which might be suggested for Bureau approval.

The feeding of well chosen information to the St. Louis Globe Democrat, a local newspaper, whose editor and associate editor are extremely friendly to the Bureau and the St. Louis Office, has also been utilized in the past and it is contemplated that this technique might be used to good advantage in connection with this program.

With specific regard to the St. Louis Draft Resistance, which is a one-man organization headed by RICHARD H. FREER, a Washington University graduate student, the following circumstances occurred:

FREER turned in his Selective Service draft card at a public meeting on 12/4/67. Investigation at his local board determined that a few days later he wrote to the board requesting a duplicate card. If this type of information could have been publicized, it might have pointed out the insincerity of FREER. Nothing, however, was done at the time because of the confidential nature of draft board records and the fact that publicity may have jeopardized prosecution presently pending against FREER.

St. Louis will carefully analyze these organizations under this program in an effort to affect the disruption of the New Left and specific suggestions of Counterintelligence action will be submitted to the Bureau for approval by separate letter.

CONFIDENTIAL

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 6

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, Albany

DATE: 5/23/68

FROM : Director, FBI

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

Remylet to all offices dated 5/10/68, advising of the institution of captioned program. In addition to the analysis requested therein, due at the Bureau by 6/1/68, you are instructed to prepare a separate communication to reach the Bureau on or before 6/14/68, to include the following detailed information:

1) False Allegations of Police Brutality

Detailed information is desired to counter the widespread charges of police brutality that invariably arise following student-police encounters. Included therein should be specific details of the alleged incident, the form of resistance and action taken by police. Incidents of undue provocation and violence used on police should also be set forth under this caption. It is anticipated this data can be used through friendly news media to vividly portray the revolutionary-type actions and militant nature of the New Left movement.

2) Immorality

Specific data should be furnished depicting the scurrilous and depraved nature of many of the characters, activities, habits and living conditions representative of New Left adherents.

3) Action by College Administrators

Set forth information to show the value of college administrators and school officials taking a firm stand in resisting militant minority elements attempting to disrupt or take over college campuses. Specific examples should be given to show the results of being firm, as opposed to a vacillating attitude in considering student demands. Includetherein the

2 - All Offices

100-21213-3

SEARCHED ER INDEXED
SERIALIZED Rem FILED
MAY 30 1968
FBI — SAINT LOUIS

6/17

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 7

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-108

demands made by the students and the action taken by college officials during and after the insurgence. Advise of the extent of outside influence in the uprising and approximate number of the student body actively participating. Additionally, point out whether and to what extent faculty members rendered aid and encouragement or joined militant radicals in their actions.

After submission of the initial letter by 6/14/68, the above-requested data should be furnished on a continuing basis as it is received by your office. Prompt and thorough reporting of this information is of the utmost importance so that it can be properly utilized in exposing the New Left movement.

Every avenue of possible embarrassment must be vigorously and enthusiastically explored. It cannot be expected that information of this type will be easily obtained, and an imaginative approach by your personnel is imperative to its success. Concentrated counterintelligence efforts must be directed at maneuvering active New Left participants into a defensive position so that their offensive actions are seriously impaired and eventually stifled. A realistic, imaginative approach is solicited and any ideas designed to foment confusion, disrupt, discredit, or expose the New Left and its adherents should be submitted for consideration.

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 8

(E) INVESTIGATION OF THE NEW LEFT - STUDENT AGITATION ON COLLEGE CAMPUSES -- In recent weeks, violent student demonstrations have erupted on college campuses throughout the Nation. Student activists responsible for initiating these demonstrations are, for the most part, affiliated with the Students for a Democratic Society and other new left groups currently under investigation or campus-based black nationalist groups. The pattern of radical dissent on the campus has changed abruptly from the sit-ins and nonviolent demonstrations of the past to the recent attempts by student activists to physically seize control of colleges and universities through violent means.

The most recent outbreak of violence on college campuses represents a direct challenge to law and order and a substantial threat to the stability of society in general. The Bureau has an urgent and pressing responsibility to keep the intelligence community informed of plans of new left groups and student activists to engage in acts of lawlessness on the campus. We can only fulfill this responsibility through the development of high quality informants who are in a position to report on the plans of student activists to engage in disruptive activities on the campus.

In view of the increased agitational activity taking place on college campuses, each office is instructed to immediately expand both its coverage and investigation of campus-based new left groups and black nationalist organizations with the objective of determining in advance the plans of these elements to engage in violence or disruptive activities on the campus. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that all offices are expected to develop and maintain adequate sources to enable the Bureau to determine in advance and promptly report agitational activities being planned by campus-based groups. In carrying out these instructions, you should, of course, be guided by existing regulations which require that Bureau authorization be obtained prior to the development of informants and sources on college campuses.

Information developed relating to disruptive activities planned or initiated by campus-based new left or black nationalist groups should be immediately furnished to the Bureau by teletype, followed by a letterhead memorandum under a caption descriptive of the activity. The character to be utilized will be governed by the nature of the activity. It is not desired that routine antiwar demonstrations which occur on the

100-21213-4

SEARCHED.....INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....FILED.....
MAY 22 1968
FBI — SAINT LOUIS

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 9

campus be reported under this caption however; and offices should continue to comply with instructions contained in SAC Letter 68-20 (C) in reporting these demonstrations.

This matter should be afforded continuous aggressive investigative attention to insure that the Bureau's responsibilities in this field are properly discharged.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover

Director

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 10

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, Albany

DATE: 5/28/68

FROM : Director, FBI

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

SAC Letter 68-30(E), dated 5/21/68, pointed out the necessity for increased coverage on college campuses to insure the Bureau is in a position to receive advance information of any planned disruptive activities. In order to facilitate the overall supervision of the Counterintelligence Program, as well as to fulfill our intelligence gathering responsibilities, all offices are instructed to provide the following detailed information, in form suitable for dissemination, for each college and/or university in their respective territories where organized New Left groups are in existence or where there have been campus disturbances during the past year. Fifteen copies of each letterhead memorandum should be submitted appropriately captioned, "New Left Activity--- _____ University."

1) Identity of all New Left organizations, a characterization of each and approximate membership.

2) Identity of the ringleaders in each group with detailed background information, including any subversive data and a summary of activities in the New Left movement.

3) Summarize campus disruptive activities during the past year identifying the organizations involved, issues in contention, violence which erupted, and final outcome of the disorder. This category should also include information on any outside influence, as well as student and faculty participation.

Your cover communication should set forth, in detail, your present informant and/or source coverage on each campus fitting the above description, as well as in each organization mentioned. Comment should be made on programs in existence or plans being made to improve this coverage. An evaluation should be made as to the potential for violence on campuses in your territory for the forthcoming school year.

The above information should be submitted under the above caption to reach the Bureau no later than 7/3/68. 100-21213-5

2 - All Offices

SEARCHED ..... INDEXED .....
SERIALIZED ..... FILED .....
JUN 4 1968
FBI — SAINT LOUIS

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 11

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-108

DIRECTOR, FBI 6/13/68

SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-21213)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re St. Louis letter to the Bureau dated 5/28/68 and Bureau letter dated 5/23/68.

Reference St. Louis letter listed four organizations involved in New Left activity in St. Louis. It is believed that the Action Committee to Increase Opportunities for Negroes (ACTION) should be eliminated because this organization, which is a splinter group from CORE, is actually primarily interested in racial type matters and is not subversively orientated.

The St. Louis Draft Resistance and the Committee to Support Draft Resistance have had no formal organization and for that reason St. Louis has no information to report that would fall within the three categories under which the Bureau desires information and as set out in reference Bureau letter.

The only organization in St. Louis on which there is information would be the Students For a Democratic Society (SDS). SDS was active at Washington University in St. Louis and had attempted organization of chapters at Southeast Missouri College at Cape Girardeau, Missouri and at St. Louis University in St. Louis. Its efforts in these latter two schools was not successful and it never became a going operation in either of them. These three schools are now closed for the summer and all activity in so far as SDS has ceased to exist. This is further borne out by an editorial appearing in the 4/26/68 issue of "Student Life", Washington University official student publication in which it is stated that DEVEREAUX KENNEDY, President of the student assembly, JOEL ALLEN, GEORGE LIPSITZ, KEN HOLDER and other leaders of the "New Left" are leaving the campus in June. This article points out that it is not known what the next year would bring at Washington University with a complete change of leadership.

Declassified 4/8/77 per Bur 4/12/77 jtc

Mr. JIM THOMPSON, Security Officer (protect identity) and confidential source, advised that all student activity and

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - St. Louis
SJP/jtc
(3)

100-21213-6

HED
ZED
ED

Classified by 3067
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite

Declassified 1/6/75

NW 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 12

SDS activity at Washington University is completely disbanded and he does not expect there will be any such activity until the beginning of the Fall term in September. There will be a summer school with enrollment starting later this month but it is not expected that any of these students, because of the few in number, will be involved in any type of student or "New Left" activity.

In answer to the headings set out in reference Bureau letter -

1) False Allegations of Police Brutality: The only incident that has come to the attention of the St. Louis Office involving students at Washington University wherein allegations of police brutality were made involve the arrest of 8 Washington University students on 12/8/67 during a visit to St. Louis by Vice-President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY. These 8 students had appeared at a church where Mr. HUMPHREY was to visit and were carrying "McCarthy for President" placards. These individuals were asked by the St. Louis Police Department to move to the opposite side of the street but refused to do so and were taken into custody. They were subsequently released without charges having been placed against them. There was no indication that these individuals were members of SDS or part of the "New Left" activities at Washington University. These individuals, all subsequently represented by counsel, have filed law suits against members of the St. Louis Police Department alleging false arrest and police brutality. The outcome of these actions has not been resolved.

Mr. EARL HALVELAND, Lieutenant in Charge of the Intelligence Unit of the St. Louis Police Department, has advised that he is not aware of any other instances where students have alleged police brutality involving the St. Louis Police Department. He further pointed out that such allegations are confidentially handled by the Inspection Division of the St. Louis Police Department and are matters that are generally not disseminated outside of the Department.

It would appear that in this instance the allegations against the Police Department were not provocated. Because of the circumstances involved and the length of time that has elapsed since the occurrence of the arrest it does not appear that this information would be suitable for release to friendly

CONFIDENTIAL

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 13

news media as a disruptive tactic against the New Left movement.

2) Immorality: St. Louis has no information under this category involving any of the principals who have been identified with SDS at Washington University. Chief JAMES DAMOS of the University City Police Department, in whose city a number of Washington University students, who were associated with "New Left" activity, reside, stated that there had been some allegations made to his Department indicating that these individuals, which included DEVEREAUX KENNEDY, DWIGHT CORRIN and TERRY KOCH, were engaged in having weekend marijuana parties in their apartments. He stated that on one occasion his Department had raided the apartment of DEVEREAUX KENNEDY and although there were a number of students present listening to phonograph records there was no indication that any of them had been using marijuana and no drugs were found in the apartment. He said that all of the information along this line received by his Department was only hearsay and there were no facts to substantiate them.

3) Action Taken by College Administrators: There are two examples involving action taken by schools with regard to so-called student and faculty efforts to promote "New Left" activities and to promote "academic freedoms on campuses". Southeast Missouri College, a State of Missouri institution, received considerable publicity in the local Cape Girardeau press and in the "St. Louis Post-Dispatch", a daily St. Louis newspaper, during April, 1968, when the President of the college, Mr. MARK F. SCULLY, announced the dismissal of 8 professors connected with that college. This dismissal actually consisted of a refusal by the college to renew their contracts for the ensuing year. It was alleged that these individuals were dropped by the University because of their "liberal statements" and because at least two of them were reportedly interested in attempting to sponsor an SDS chapter at the University. These two individuals were ROGER HARMS and CLARK PENNINGTON. Although there was considerable dissension on the part of some of the faculty members and students Dr. SCULLY stood fast in his position and was ultimately backed up by the Board of Regents.

In contrast to this action an article appeared in the May 20, 1968 issue of the "St. Louis Post-Dispatch" in which it was pointed out that the Washington University through its

CONFIDENTIAL

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 14

Chancellor, THOMAS ELLIOTT, had reached an agreement with Colonel RAYMOND W. HENSLEY, Superintendent of the St. Louis County Police Department, whereby members of that Department would not attempt to come onto the University's campus for intelligence purposes or to have its members attend student-sponsored affairs without the specific request from the Chancellor indicating that their presence was needed in order to maintain law and order. According to this article, DEVEREAUX KENNEDY, President of the student assembly, and Professor JULES B. GERARD, who has been active in the St. Louis Civil Liberties Union, were behind the agitation requiring that the school state its policy with regard to the presence of police officers on the campus. According to a statement by GERARD, the presence of police officers, whether in uniform or in plain clothes, was "the obvious purpose to intimidate people exercising their rights". He stated that such activities only tend to breed contempt for police among students who were subjected to such harassment.

St. Louis has no indication that the SDS activities at Washington University received any assistance or was influenced by outside particpants. The only exception to this would be the fact that one GUY NASSBERG, who was involved in much of the SDS activity on campus during the spring of this year, has been described as an SDS coordinator sent to St. Louis from the National SDS Office.

St. Louis will remain alert for any information falling within the above three categories when universities in this division reopen and when any "New Left" activities at these institutions are attempted. All such information will be promptly brought to the Bureau's attention in order that it may be considered for use of disrupting the "New Left".

CONFIDENTIAL

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 15

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-21213) DATE: 6/14/68

FROM : SA SPURGEON J. PETERSON

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

Attached is a Xerox copy of Bureau letter dated 5/28/68 which is self-explanatory. Prepare the necessary LHM's covering colleges and/or universities in your territories.

Direct your answers to attention SA SPURGEON J. PETERSON in order that all answers will be sent in with one cover communication.

Administrative data should be on separate page for each LHM. Return in time to enable coordination so Buded of 7/3/68 can be met.

1 - SL 100-21213
1 - SA BURTON (enc. 1)
1 - SA DUNCAN (enc. 1)
1 - SA DUFFEY (enc. 1)
1 - SA PARK (enc. 1)
1 - SA ROSENBERGER (enc. 1) (be sure to cover SE Mo. College)

SJP/jtc
(6)

100-21213-7
SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
JUN 14 1968
FBI — ST. LOUIS

5010-108

NW 5289 DocId: 70001143 Page 16

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-21213) 6/26/68
ATTN: SA SPURGEON J. PETERSON

SA AUBREY D. PARK

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

Re SA SPURGEON J. PETERSON's memo to the SAC dated 6/14/68.

LOU MOSS, Assistant Director of Student Personnel, University of Missouri at Rolla, advised on 6/18/68 that there are no new left organizations on the campus at the University of Missouri at Rolla. He stated there have been no campus disturbances during the past year.

MOSS stated that it is his duty and responsibility with the University of Missouri at Rolla to be aware of any potential trouble makers with regard to political activities or any trouble makers on the campus so far as crime is concerned and he believes there is no potential for organized violence on the campus at UMR for the forthcoming school year.

In view of the above information, no LHM is being prepared on UMR.

There are no other colleges or universities in the Rolla RA territory.

1 - 100-21213
ADP: pdp
(2)
pdp

100-21213-8
SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
FILED
JUN 26 1968
FBI — SAINT LOUIS

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 17

DIRECTOR, FBI 6/27/68

SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-21213)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

Re Bulet to Albany, 5/10/68, and St. Louis lets to Bureau 5/28 and 6/13/68.

1. Potential Counterintelligence Action - None

2. Pending Counterintelligence Action - None

3. Tangible Results - None

4. Miscellaneous - with the major colleges and universities in the St. Louis Division, at which "New Left" activities are likely to have an operation on summer vacation, there is little chance to implement this program until the fall terms commence. St. Louis will remain alert to this Bureau program in order to be able to take full advantage of each opportunity that presents itself.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by 3067
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite
Classified 11/6/75

2 - Bureau
1 - St. Louis
SJP:mck
(3)

100-21213-9
SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 18

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, Albany

DATE: 7/5/68

FROM : Director, FBI (100-449698)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT
(COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT)

Bulet 5/10/68 requested suggestions for counter-intelligence action against the New Left. The replies to the Bureau's request have been analyzed and it is felt that the following suggestions for counterintelligence action can be utilized by all offices:

1. Preparation of a leaflet designed to counteract the impression that Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and other minority groups speak for the majority of students at universities. The leaflet should contain photographs of New Left leadership at the respective university. Naturally, the most obnoxious pictures should be used.

2. The instigating of or the taking advantage of personal conflicts or animosities existing between New Left leaders.

3. The creating of impressions that certain New Left leaders are informants for the Bureau or other law enforcement agencies.

4. The use of articles from student newspapers and/or the "underground press" to show the depravity of New Left leaders and members. In this connection, articles showing advocation of the use of narcotics and free sex are ideal to send to university officials, wealthy donors, members of the legislature and parents of students who are active in New Left matters.

5. Since the use of marijuana and other narcotics is widespread among members of the New Left, you should be alert to opportunities to have them arrested by local authorities on drug charges. Any information concerning the

100-212437-10

SEARCHED.....INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....FILED.....
JUL 11 1968
FBI — SAINT LOUIS

2 - All Field Offices

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 19

fact that individuals have marijuana or are engaging in a narcotics party should be immediately furnished to local authorities and they should be encouraged to take action.

6. The drawing up of anonymous letters regarding individuals active in the New Left. These letters should set out their activities and should be sent to their parents, neighbors and the parents' employers. This could have the effect of forcing the parents to take action.

7. Anonymous letters or leaflets describing faculty members and graduate assistants in the various institutions of learning who are active in New Left matters. The activities and associations of the individual should be set out. Anonymous mailings should be made to university officials, members of the state legislature, Board of Regents, and to the press. Such letters could be signed "A Concerned Alumni" or "A Concerned Taxpayer."

8. Whenever New Left groups engage in disruptive activities on college campuses, cooperative press contacts should be encouraged to emphasize that the disruptive elements constitute a minority of the students and do not represent the conviction of the majority. The press should demand an immediate student referendum on the issue in question. Inasmuch as the overwhelming majority of students is not active in New Left matters, it is felt that this technique, used in carefully selected cases, could put an end to lengthy demonstrations and could cause embarrassment to New Left elements.

9. There is a definite hostility among SDS and other New Left groups toward the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), and the Progressive Labor Party (PLP). This hostility should be exploited wherever possible.

10. The field was previously advised that New Left groups are attempting to open coffeehouses near military bases in order to influence members of the Armed Forces. Wherever these coffeehouses are, friendly news media should be alerted to them and their purpose. In addition, various

drugs, such as marijuana, will probably be utilized by individuals running the coffeehouses or frequenting them. Local law enforcement authorities should be promptly advised whenever you receive an indication that this is being done.

11. Consider the use of cartoons, photographs, and anonymous letters which will have the effect of ridiculing the New Left. Ridicule is one of the most potent weapons which we can use against it.

12. Be alert for opportunities to confuse and disrupt New Left activities by misinformation. For example, when events are planned, notification that the event has been cancelled or postponed could be sent to various individuals.

You are reminded that no counterintelligence action is to be taken without Bureau approval. Insure that this Program is assigned to an Agent with an excellent knowledge of both New Left groups and individuals. It must be approached with imagination and enthusiasm if it is to be successful.

As an economy measure the caption "COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT" should be used on all communications concerning this Program.

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 21

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

St. Louis, Missouri

July 2, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NEW LEFT ACTIVITY
WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

During the past year the one organization on the Washington University campus associated with the "New Left" was the Students For a Democratic Society (SDS). A characterization of the national organization is attached.

In the late Spring of 1967 there were several meetings of a small group of students at Washington University who identified themselves as SDS. This group issued leaflets identified as SDS activity. They, however, had no known formal organization.

On September 19, 1967, a group of students held a meeting at Washington University advertised as sponsored by SDS and called "State of the Union".

Source #1 advised on January 5, 1968, that at that time there was an SDS chapter with designated officers at Washington University. The source advised on July 1, 1968, that with the end of the school year in June, 1968, all SDS activity stopped and the organization ceased to exist. It is not known how many actual members there were. Some meetings were attended by as many as 25 individuals. It is believed some of these were students who wanted to see what the group was doing and did not belong to it as members.

The students who were identified with Washington University SDS were, the officers:

15 - Bureau (RM)
9 - St. Louis
(2 - 100-21213)
(1 - 100-19785 SDS)
(1 - 100-20987 G. LIPSITZ)
(1 - 100-20324 (D. KENNEDY)
(1 - 100-20132 D. CORRIN)
1 - 100-20325 T. KOCH)
2 - 100-new CLAY JOSEPH CLAIBORNE JR.) SJP/jtc (9)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Group I
~~Excluded from automatic~~
~~downgrading and~~
declassification

BW 4/12/77 jtw

This communication and its contents are loaned to you by the FBI, and neither it nor its contents are to be distributed outside of the agency to which loaned.

100 - 21213

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
FILED

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 22

George R. Lipsitz, President. He was a student in the Liberal Arts School and lived at 6515 Wydown Boulevard, St. Louis. His home address was 344 East 37th Street, Patterson, New Jersey. Lipsitz was a senior and graduated in June, 1968, and will not be back this Fall. He was born [redacted], at Patterson, New Jersey. His father, Herbert Jerome Lipsitz, was a superintendent of schools at Patterson, New Jersey.

Ray William Frankland, Vice President. He was a first year student in the Liberal Arts School. His local address was 6515 Wydown Boulevard, St. Louis, and his home was 512 Ridgeway, Little Rock, Arkansas. He was born [redacted], at Dodgeville, Mississippi. He did not return to school after the mid-semester break.

FOIA(b)(6)

Richard Phillips Koch, also known as Terry Koch, Secretary-Treasurer. Koch is a 4th year Liberal Arts student. He lives at 5877 Nina Place in St. Louis. His home is 67 Smith Street, Lynbrook, New York. He was born in New York, [redacted]. Koch is expected to be at the university this Fall. He was one of the more active SDS members and is likely to be the one to spearhead SDS activities when school opens again on September 23, 1968. The only subversive connections Koch is known to have stems from the fact that Hershel Walker, Chairman of the Communist Party (CP) of Missouri, according to Source #2, stated that Koch should be contacted to see if he wanted to attend Marxist classes that the CP of Missouri was considering holding September 23-24, 1967. Koch's "New Left" activities centered around antidraft, anti-Vietnam and anti-poverty protests and demonstrations. SLT 9 100-9785-480 1C

Students who were not officers of SDS but who were active in SDS activities were:

Devereaux Joseph Kennedy. He was a 6th year Liberal Arts student and the 1966-1967 President of the Washington University Student Assembly. According to Source #1, although not an officer of SDS and never identified as a member, it was quite clear that he was the one who ran SDS from the side lines. His St. Louis address was 6317 Cates and his home was 307 Hillside

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 23

FOIA(b)(6)

Avenue, Glenellyn, Illinois. Kennedy was born [redacted] at Chicago, Illinois. Source has no way of knowing if he will be back this Fall. The April 26, 1968 issue of "Student Life", official campus publication, indicated in an article that he would be leaving the campus in June. He is not at the school now. Kennedy served as temporary chairman of a group that tried to organize a W. E. B. DuBois Club on campus in 1966, (a characterization is attached). This undertaking failed.

Kennedy supported SDS antidraft and anti-Vietnam protests. He attended a conference held at the center for the study of Democratic institutions held in late August, 1967, at which he reportedly stated, "What I mean by revolution is overthrowing the American Government and American imperialism and installing some sort of decentralized power in this country." He said this could be done by "starting up fifty Vietnams in third world countries" and furnishing guns to "black rebellions in our cities" and engaging in acts of terrorism and sabotage outside the ghetto. In November, 1967, he called the American Government "one of the most corrupt governments in history".

Mark Reuel Antell. Source #1 advised on March 27, 1968, that Antell had dropped out of school. He was a chemistry student in his junior year. He had been suffering with ~~Hemoglobin.~~ HEMOPHELIA B He reportedly returned to his home at 2144 East 23rd Street, Tulsa, Oklahoma. His father is Irving Antell. In December, 1965, source identified Antell as one of those who was trying to organize a W. E. B. DuBois Club on campus.

Source #3 on November 24, 1967, made available a list of St. Louisans who attended the New Politics Convention held in Chicago, Illinois Labor Day weekend, 1967. Mark Antell was one of them. His name has appeared on the list of contacts of the National Council of SDS in December, 1967.

Dwight Allen Corrin. He was born [redacted], at Wichita, Kansas. He lived at 5915 McPherson, St. Louis. His home was 847 Gilman, Wichita, Kansas. The Washington University Student Directory for 1966-1967 listed him as a fourth year Liberal Arts student. He is not listed in the 1967-1968 Directory which, according to Source #1, indicates that he graduated in June, 1968, and may not be back this Fall.

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 24

Source #4 on October 4, 1965, identified Corrin as a Washington University student who wanted to organize a W. E. B. DuBois Club on campus. He was active in supporting SDS anti-Vietnam and antidraft programs. Corrin at one time indicated he wanted to act as an antidraft advisor.

Other students who were identified with the "New Left" but who were of less prominence were -

Ken Holder. He will be a senior next year and graduate in June, 1969.

Clay Joseph Claiborne, Jr. Source #1 advised he is a Negro male and will be a third year engineering student. He lives at 5817 Waterman Avenue in St. Louis. His home is 901 North Illinois Avenue, Atlantic City, New Jersey. He was one of three students who were reprimanded by the university for conduct involving a protest in February, 1968, against a representative of the Dow Chemical Company who was on campus to hold employment interviews. Since then Claiborne has been associating with Terry Koch.

Source #1 advised on July 1, 1968, that the only incident involving a disruptive incident at Washington University during the past year in which SDS was involved was a demonstration against a representative of the Dow Chemical Company. On February 14, 1968, about 150 students and some faculty members staged a sit-in protest demonstration against the Dow Chemical Company representative who was on campus to conduct job interviews. The issues involved the Vietnam War and the fact that Dow Chemical holds government contracts. There was no actual violence other than the demonstrators by physical numbers would not allow any other students a chance to see the representative. He was unable to leave the room until the demonstrators cleared the hallway. The situation ended when the representative agreed to leave the campus without seeing anyone and the demonstrators disbursed. Three of the students were reprimanded by the school for their part in the disturbance. They were George Lipsitz, Terry Koch, and Clay Claiborne.

Source #1 stated while SDS had a hand in calling attention to the appearance on campus by the Dow Company representative, this was more of a student body undertaking than that of SDS.

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 25

There are about 6500 students at the university and less than 25 involved in "New Left" activities. The SDS group does a lot of talking and issue leaflets but for the most part no one pays much attention to them. Now that school is closed and until the Fall term opens on September 23, 1968, there are only a few summer students on campus and no SDS organization in existence. Source is of the opinion that SDS last year received no outside assistance and that its activities were those of the students without assistance from the school faculty.

All sources used in this memorandum have furnished reliable information in the past.

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 26

RE: NEW LEFT ACTIVITY
WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1

A-P-P-E-N-D-I-X

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 27

RE: NEW LEFT ACTIVITY
WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1

A-P-P-E-N-D-I-X

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA
ST. LOUIS CLUB

A source has advised that a member of the Communist Party (CP) of Missouri attended a conference in Chicago, Illinois, on December 28-29, 1963, for the purpose of initiating a "call" to the new youth organization, and plan for a founding convention to be held in June, 1964. The expenses for this trip, as well as the expenses of two delegates to the founding convention of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) held from June 19th to 21st, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue in San Francisco, California, were paid for by the CP of Missouri.

A second source has advised that the organizing of a DCA Club in St. Louis was done at the direction and financial assistance of the CP of Missouri. Mike Zagarell, National CP Youth Director; Mortimer Daniel Rubin, National CP Organizational Director; and Claude Lightfoot, member of the National CP Committee, while in St. Louis have met with members of the St. Louis DCA Club to discuss its status and activities.

The second source also advised that approximately twelve young people met on March 7, 1965, in St. Louis and organized the DCA St. Louis Club. They elected officers and executed an application for a charter and membership in the National DCA. Two of the elected officers of the St. Louis Club are members of the CP of Missouri.

Since its inception, the St. Louis Club DCA has been under the complete influence, domination, and control of the Missouri CP.

A third source advised in April, 1966, that despite the concentrated efforts and an expenditure of funds by the CP of Missouri, the DCA Club in St. Louis never became effective and went out of existence on December 31, 1965.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 28

RE: NEW LEFT ACTIVITY
WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1

A-P-P-E-N-D-I-X

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party, USA (CP-USA), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention.

The second source advised in September, 1966, that Mike Zagarell, CP-USA Youth Director, stated that in Negro communities the Party still supported the plan to build "left" socialist centers and to solidify the Party base through the DCA. This source also advised in September, 1966, that Daniel Rubin, CP-USA National Organizational Secretary, stated the Party believes the DCA should have a working-class outlook and be a mass organization favorable to socialism, socialist countries and Marxism, and in April, 1967, advised that Gus Hall, CP-USA General Secretary, indicated the DCA primary emphasis should be on developing mass resistance to the draft.

A third source advised in September, 1967, that Jarvis Tyner was elected Chairman of the DCA on September 10, 1967, at the Third National Convention of the DCA held in New York, New York, from September 8-10, 1967.

A fourth source advised during August, 1967, that Jarvis Tyner is a member of the National Committee of the CP-USA.

A fifth source advised on September 21, 1967, that the headquarters of the DCA is located at 34 West 17th Street, New York, New York.

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 29

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

St. Louis, Missouri

July 2, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NEW LEFT ACTIVITIES
SOUTHEAST MISSOURI STATE COLLEGE
CAPE GIRARDEAU, MISSOURI

During the past year the only "New Left" organization at Southeast Missouri State College, according to Source #1, was a chapter of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). A characterization of the National SDS is attached. The Cape Girardeau SDS Chapter had been in existence since the beginning of the 1967 Fall term of school. It never received recognition from the school and was very disorganized. Its meetings were clandestine. On January 3, 1968, source said the group had nine members.

The two officers were Larry Scott, President, and Gentry Smith, Vice-President.

FOIA(b)(6)

Larry Gene Scott was born [redacted] at St. Louis, Missouri. His parents are Alvy King Scott and Noram Louise Diederich Scott. He lived at 1639 Bessie, Cape Girardeau, Missouri, and his home is 8584 Debbie, St. Louis, Missouri.

Gentry Jose Smith was born [redacted], at St. Louis, Missouri. His parents are William Dee Smith and Ruby Lee Harris Smith. He lived at the Dorm Towers M-303, Cape Girardeau. His home is 7736 St. Albans, St. Louis, Missouri.

Other than being officers of the SDS Chapter, no further SDS activity has been developed concerning them.

Rec Bur 4/12/77

15 - Bureau (RM)
(7) - St. Louis
(2 - 100-21213)
(1 - 100-19785 SDS)
(2 - 100-new ROGER HARMS)
(2 - 100-new CLARK PENNINGTON)
SJP/jtc (22)

CONFIDENTIAL
Group I
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

This communication and its contents are loaned to you by the FBI, and neither it nor its contents are to be distributed outside of the agency to which loaned.

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 30

RE: NEW LEFT ACTIVITIES
SOUTHEAST MISSOURI STATE COLLEGE
CAPE GIRARDEAU, MISSOURI ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

According to Source #1 there were no disruptive activities during the past year at Southeast Missouri State College that was connected with "New Left" organizations.

The college and its President, Dr. Mark F. Scully, in April, 1968, received considerable publicity in the daily press over his refusal to renew teaching contracts of eight teachers at the college. The "St. Louis Post-Dispatch", a daily St. Louis newspaper, issue of April 21, 1968, carried an article in which is printed statements from the teachers as to why they were fired. In the article a Roger Harms, instructor in English, and another teacher, Clark Pennington, both of whom were dismissed, were described as faculty members who were sponsers of SDS, "a liberal student organization on campus".

Source #1 in this memorandum has furnished reliable information in the past.

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 31

RE: NEW LEFT ACTIVITIES
SOUTHEAST MISSOURI STATE COLLEGE
CAPE GIRARDEAU, MISSOURI

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1

A-P-P-E-N-D-I-X

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 32

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

St. Louis, Missouri

July 2, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NEW LEFT ACTIVITY
ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

During the past year there were no "New Left" organizations on the campus of the St. Louis University. In April, 1968, attempts were undertaken in order to create a Students for a Democratic Society Club (SDS) at the university. A characterization of National SDS is attached. Source #1 advised on April 5, 1968, that a meeting of students at St. Louis University was held on March 28, 1968. It was announced that an SDS Club would be formed and those who wanted to join could do so. At this meeting a St. Louis University chapter of the SDS Preamble and Constitution was presented.

Source #2 advised on April 15, 1968, that in order for a student organization of any kind to exist on campus it must apply for and receive recognition from the school. That recognition had been refused the proposed SDS group. Source pointed out he expected no further attempts would be made by the students to gain recognition before the Fall of 1968.

Source #3 advised on June 24, 1968, that St. Louis University is on vacation and that attempts to establish an SDS chapter there ended when the school term ended in June, 1968. Source further advised that the one student who was trying to start SDS was a James M. O'Neil, fourth year Arts and Science student. He lived at 8907 South Swan Circle and his home was

15 - Bureau (RM)
(5) - St. Louis
(2 - 100-21213)
(1 - 100-19785 SDS)
(2 - 100-new JAMES M. O'NEIL)
SJP/jtc
(20)

CONFIDENTIAL
Group 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

Ben Burt 12-14-77 jtc

This communication and its contents are loaned to you by the FBI, and neither it nor its contents are to be distributed outside of the agency to which loaned.

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 33

1521 South Wolf Road, Hillside, Illinois. He graduated in June, 1968, and is not expected to return to the school.

Source #3 stated there were no disruptive activities at the St. Louis University within the past year that could be attributed to any student or "New Left" organizations. He said that the interest in organizing an SDS chapter on campus apparently was being generated by outside students from Washington University in St. Louis.

Source believes that attempts will again be made this Fall to organize an SDS Club on campus and that the university may be forced into recognizing such a student group if it is formed.

The sources used in this memorandum have furnished reliable information in the past.

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 34

RE: NEW LEFT ACTIVITY
ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1

A-P-P-E-N-D-I-X

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us". At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 35

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

FBI

Date: 7/2/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-21213)

RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

Re Bureau letter to Albany dated 5/28/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 15 copies each of three LHMs suitable for dissemination relating to Washington University, St. Louis University, and Southeast Missouri State College.

Sources used in LHMs are as follows:

3 - Bureau (Encs. 45)(RM)
15 - St. Louis
(2 - 100-21213)
(1 - 100-19785 SDS)
(1 - 100-20987 G. LIPSITZ)
(1 - 100-20324 D. KENNEDY)
(1 - 100-20132 D. CORRIN)
(1 - 100-20325 T. KOCH)
(2 - 100-new CLAY CLAIBORNE, JR.)
(2 - 100-new JAMES M. O'NEIL)
(2 - 100-new ROGER HARMS)
(2 - 100-new CLARK PENNINGTON)

Bu wants this sent as a letter & not a Cees tel in the future

SJP/jtc
(18)

Classified by 3067
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite
Classified 11-6-75

Declassified E.O. 11652 Sec 5B Bu 1-11-77 ja

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-21213-12

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
FILED

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 36

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____

Washington University

Source #1 is JIM THOMPSON, Washington University Security Officer, an established source, by request.

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

Source #2 is [redacted]

Source #3 is [redacted]

Source #4 is former [redacted]

St. Louis University

Source #1 is [redacted], graduate student, who volunteered information, by request.

Source #2 is Father JEROME J. MARCHETTI, ex-Vice President at St. Louis University, by request.

Source #3 is EDMUND C. TOOMEY, Dean of Men, St. Louis University, by request.

Southeast Missouri State College

Source #1 is CARROLL WALKER, Dean of Men, by request.

The above three LHMs were classified "confidential" because they contain information furnished by sources who have requested that they be protected.

Regarding informant and source coverage, St. Louis continues to afford this matter attention under the caption "Investigation of Student Groups on College Campuses", BUfile 100-443-853, St. Louis file 100-19961. At this time there are no members of SDS and no students who have been developed. Until the schools reopen in September and until "New Left" organizations make their appearances there will be little opportunity to develop sources in this field. It is fully realized that the ability to develop sources who are actual members of these groups is the most effective way to follow their activities, therefore, this will be afforded close and continuous attention.

St. Louis had three potential sources who were students at Washington University and St. Louis University. They were previously described to the Bureau. All three, however, have

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 37

CONFIDENTIAL

now graduated and are no longer available, St. Louis letter dated 6/25/68 (BUfile 100-443-853). This letter further names other sources at Washington University, St. Louis University and Southeast Missouri College. It will be noted the correct name of the President at Southeast Missouri College is Dr. MARK SCULLY. One additional source at St. Louis University is EDMUND C. TOOMEY, Dean of Men. Mr. TOOMEY will be enrolled as a student at St. Louis University next semester and has volunteered to continue to furnish information to the FBI. A separate request to develop him will be submitted.

The following relates to institutions of learning in resident agency territories of this office except Cape Girardeau.

The following are the colleges in Northeast Missouri:

Missouri Baptist College, Hannibal-LaGrange Campus, Hannibal, Missouri;

Culver-Stockton College, Canton, Missouri;

Northeast Missouri State College, Kirksville, Missouri;

Kirksville College of Osteopathy and Surgery, Kirksville, Missouri.

There have been no "New Left" organizations or for that matter any old left organizations on any of these campuses. There are no known ringleaders for such organizations, according to sources. There have been no disruptive activities on any of the four college campuses.

Sources of information are:

Dr. ORVILLE BOWERS, Registrar, Northeast Missouri State College, Kirksville;

Mr. RICHARD NEWMAN, Security Officer in Charge, Northeast Missouri State College;

Mr. HOWARD MORRIS, Head, Division of Maintenance, Northeast Missouri State College;

CONFIDENTIAL

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 38

Dr. CLARK ELKINS, President, Northeast Missouri State College;

Mrs. FRANCES MC KINNEY, Foreign Student Advisor, Northeast Missouri State College;

Dr. CRAWFORD ESTERLINE, Kirksville College of Osteopathy and Surgery, Kirksville, Missouri;

Dr. STEDMAN DENSLOW, Kirksville College of Osteopathy and Surgery;

Mr. FRANCIS ENGLISH, Dean, Kirksville College of Osteopathy and Surgery;

Mr. DONALD DEHNER, Registrar, Missouri Baptist, Hannibal-LaGrange Campus;

Miss MARY WIEHE, Professor, Missouri Baptist, Hannibal-LaGrange Campus;

Dr. LUTHER A. FOSTER, President, Missouri Baptist;

Dr. FRED HELSABECK, President, Culver-Stockton College, Canton, Missouri;

Miss OLGA BAYS, Professor and Registrar, Culver-Stockton College;

Professor JAKE ALLEN, Culver-Stockton College.

There are no colleges or universities located in the Mexico, Missouri Resident Agency territory.

LOU MOSS, Assistant Director of Student Personnel, University of Missouri at Rolla, advised on June 18, 1968, that there are no new left organizations on the campus at the University of Missouri at Rolla. He stated there have been no campus disturbances during the past year.

MOSS stated that it is his duty and responsibility with the University of Missouri at Rolla to be aware of any potential trouble makers with regard to political activities or any trouble makers on the campus so far as crime is concerned

CONFIDENTIAL

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 39

and he believes there is no potential for organized violence on the campus at the University of Missouri at Rolla for the forthcoming school year.

There are no other colleges or universities in the Rolla Resident Agency territory.

In evaluating the potential for violence on campuses for the next school year in the St. Louis territory, it appears that there will continue to be some renewed "New Left" student activity. The concentration will be in the St. Louis Metropolitan area. Washington and St. Louis Universities will be the main centers of activity with Washington University in the forefront. This "New Left" activity will be in the form of SDS chapters. There is an ever increasing amount of pressure by the students on the school administrations to go along with such activity on campus and an ever relaxing by the administrations on efforts to curb them. This attitude on the part of the administrations is making it more difficult to secure information. There is an increasing willingness to meet student demands to refuse government agencies any and all information.

J. GUY NASSBERG, the SDS "Regional Coordinator in Missouri", has been in St. Louis since the Fall of 1967. He has spent much of his time at Washington University and is no doubt the reason for the attempt to start SDS at St. Louis University. He is not a student. He uses a St. Louis address of 5877 Nina Place, c/o Terry Koch. He continues to reside in St. Louis and will no doubt extend his efforts to organize SDS chapters at other schools. NASSBERG was born [redacted] at New York City, New York. He is a white male, claims to have been an SDS member since 1965, and claims to have had [redacted]. St. Louis has a pending investigation on NASSBERG.

FOIA(b)(6)

Although SDS activity is expected at Washington University and St. Louis University and possibly at some other schools in this territory next school year, there is no reason to believe this activity will take the form of violence. This opinion is based on the fact that in the past the small number of students interested in the "New Left" are so small compared to the total population of each school that they are unable to gain the support necessary to put over a program, except on a token basis. Further, with the exception of Washington

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 40

CONFIDENTIAL

University, the other schools have started a hard policy against any disruptive tactics. For example, Father PAUL C. REINERT, President at St. Louis University, has announced that any attempted sit-ins, etc. will be given two minutes to disburse or he will call the authorities to evict them.

JIM THOMPSON, Security Officer at Washington University, said he feels sure one of the first things SDS will raise as an issue when it is re-organized this Fall will be the removal of the ROTC Program from the university.

CONFIDENTIAL

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 41

File—Serial Charge Out
FD-5 (Rev. 6-17-70)

☆ GPO : 1973 O - 503-768

File 100 - 21213 Date _____
Class. Case No. Last Serial

☐ Pending ☐ Closed

Serial No.	Description of Serial	Date Charged
13	Skipped IN SERILIZATION	

Employee

RECHARGE Date _____

To _____ From _____

Initials of Clerk { _____ _____ _____ }

Date { _____ _____ _____ }

_____
Date Charged

_____
Employee

_____
Location

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 42

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Starsky

7-24

TO : SAC, ST. LOUIS

DATE: 8/28/68

FROM : SAC, PHOENIX (105-2683)(P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

ReBulet to Albany, copies to all offices, 7/5/68.

A key figure in New Left activities in the Phoenix area is MORRIS JOSEPH STARSKY, Assistant Professor of Philosopy at Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona. A credit bureau report dated 1/5/68 indicates that STARSKY "briefly served in the U. S. Army from 2/57 to 5/57."

FD-9 submitted to the Bureau 8/8/68, however, did not result in the location of any fingerprints for STARSKY submitted by the military. Consequently no Army serial number for this individual.

STARSKY is a white male who was born 2/1/33 at Rochester, New York.

It is requested that St. Louis attempt to locate an Army service record for STARSKY and that all information contained therein, especially that explaining the remarkable brevity of his military experience, be furnished to Phoenix.

2 - St. Louis (RM)
3 - Phoenix
(1 - 100-6444)

PGT/gle
(5)

100-71213-146

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
AUG 30 1968
FBI — ST. LOUIS

CCO

Lead to NPRC-M
(Send Ph-a Letter)

MTP

NW: 15289 Docld: 70001143 Page 43

SAC, ST. LOUIS 8/13/68

SA SPURGEON J. PETERSON

ST. LOUIS FREE PRESS
IS - C

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

This source has furnished reliable information in the past and identity is to be protected.

On 4/15/68, [redacted] advised that a meeting was held on 4/11/68, at the St. Louis Peace Information Center at 6244 Delmar Blvd. The meeting was held to discuss the starting of an underground news paper in St. Louis. Informant obtained copies of three leaflets that were handed out. They have been filed as exhibits in this [redacted]. The name decided on was "The Root". They are furtner described as one page each:

1. "The St. Louis Root". The leaflet estimates size of the new underground paper, number of copies and cost. Aims and purposes are discussed. It is signed by: MIKE JACOBS, MARTY LIEBOWITZ, GUY NASSBURG, JOEL PESAPANE, RICH SNOWDON.

2. "The Political Context of an Underground Newspaper in St. Louis". This leaflet attempts to point out what is wrong with society in U.S. and that attempts are being made to build a human society in America. This is printed over the name of GUY NASSBURG.

3. "The Times They are A Changing". This leaflet is over the name MARTY LIEBOWITZ. It states because of the changes taking place in the country leaving people helpless to do anything about the problems that face them, the decision was made to create this newspaper.

It is to be further noted that "The Root" as a publication, as a matter of fact, became the publication now named "The St. Louis Free Press".

1 - 100-21236 SLFP
[redacted]
1 - 100-20884 PIC
1 - 100-21019 GUY NASSBURG
1 - 100-20910 MARTY LIEBOWITZ
1 - 100-21213 COINTELPRO
SJP:mck
(6)

100-21213-15

SEARCHED.... INDEXED....
SERIALIZED.... FILED....
AUG 13 1968
FBI — SAINT LOUIS

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 44

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

Victory in Defeat at Chicago

New Left Increases Its Respectability

By JAMES C. MILLSTONE
A Staff Correspondent of the Post-Dispatch

CHICAGO, Aug. 31 — THE UNSUCCESSFUL candidate stood encircled by radicals, hippies, students, beatniks, revolutionaries, idealists, yippies, peaceniks and dropouts.

Behind him, two ranks of rifle-bearing National guardsmen stood stoically. Across the street at the Conrad Hilton hind blue barricades that extended the length of the sidewalk. Police roamed near the hotel entrance.

Using a portable public address system, the speaker told the crowd, "I'm glad to be here. It was easier to get in here than it was to get into the Democratic national convention."

His listeners roared in appreciation.

Thus did Senator Eugene J. McCarthy begin an impromptu speech in Grant Park. He addressed a peace rally whose ranks included many young men and women who had been chased, cursed, stunned. The peace marcher, in some people's minds, moved from freak to human being.

In addition to the unfamiliar role of the good guy in the television drama, the war protester found himself with some new friends in the so-called responsible world.

THE FIRST SIGN came from a small group of delegates to the Democratic convention who slipped out of their hotel rooms in the wee hours of Wednesday morning to join an all-night peace demonstration.

Next, a sizable group of [illegible]

whether the restraints are optional or mandatory as that provision be made for them at the time the car is manufactured. Receptacles can be built into the seat-backs at the factory at negligible cost; the padded headrests themselves can then be bought for $25 or so and inserted in the sockets.

If the sockets are not built into the seat-backs it is extremely difficult and clumsy to install and around.

Doctors at Walter Reed Hospital continue to report improvement in the condition of former President Eisenhower, whose amazing constitution seems to have brought him through his seventh heart attack since 1955. The nation has wished him well in previous illnesses, and it does so again with the hope he will soon be up

Some biographies are outright hatchet jobs. Others

Like lapel buttons and foolish hats, the campaign biography has become an essential part of the political apparatus in an election year. Some candidates quietly commission books about themselves. In most instances, publishers rise to the occasion. Today they flood the market with hastily written volumes almost the minute after a man announces his intentions.

With a [illegible] chuckle saving [illegible] biograph Roosevelt house o opened to

are stur

are relea

From The Milwaukee Journal

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

1-B St Louis Post-Dispatch

Date: 9-1-68
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: SLMO

☐ Being Investigated

21213-16
100-424 3

SEARCHED.....INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....FILED.....
SEP 1 01968
FBI — SAINT LOUIS

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 45

NW 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 46

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

Victory in Defeat at Chicago

New Left Increases Its Respectability

By JAMES C. MILLSTONE
A Staff Correspondent of the Post-Dispatch

CHICAGO, Aug. 31

THE UNSUCCESSFUL candidate stood encircled by radicals, hippies, students, beatniks, revolutionaries, idealists, yippies, peaceniks and dropouts.

Behind him, two ranks of rifle-bearing National guardsmen stood stoically. Across the street at the Conrad Hilton hotel, a few spectators watched from behind blue barricades that extended the length of the sidewalk. Police roamed near the hotel entrance.

Thomas E. Hayden
A founder of Students for a Democratic Society

Using a portable public address system, the speaker told the crowd, "I'm glad to be here. It was easier to get in here than it was to get into the Democratic national convention."

His listeners roared in appreciation.

Thus did Senator Eugene J. McCarthy begin an impromptu speech in Grant Park. He addressed a peace rally whose ranks included many young men and women who had been chased, cursed, pushed, beaten, gassed and arrested in the area around the hotel earlier this week or at any of a number of other places where "the movement" had materialized in recent years.

And thus was established what observers here were beginning to suspect: The impossible had happened; the radical movement in America had won a healthy measure of sympathy and a dash of respectability.

IN THEIR wildest dreams, the young and old radicals who had planned this week's Chicago protests never could have imagined how successful their efforts would be.

What they had sought was an experience that would increase and unify their forces, publicize their views and help foster a mood of discontent for the presidential election campaign.

Mayor Richard J. Daley and his club-swinging Chicago police helped them. The protesters attained much more than these objectives.

The caricature of the unwashed, long-locked, oddly garbed eccentric showed up in the nation's living rooms as a terrified kid in a desperate dash for some haven from a policeman's billy club. The impact was great. Many Americans were stunned. The peace marcher, in some people's minds, moved from freak to human being.

In addition to the unfamiliar role of the good guy in the television drama, the war protester found himself with some new friends in the so-called responsible world.

THE FIRST SIGN came from a small group of delegates to the Democratic convention who slipped out of their hotel rooms in the wee hours of Wednesday morning to join an all-night peace demonstration.

Next, a sizable group of liberal delegates advertised their kinship with the radicals by organizing a march on the convention hall. And the climactic gift was bestowed by McCarthy, the No. 1 nonconformist in the Federal Government, when he crossed Michigan avenue from his Hilton suite to address the demonstrators.

Rarely had a modern peace-type protest been so effective in the United States.

Last May portly David Dellinger, grim Thomas E. Hayden and Chicagoan Rennie Davis took on the leadership for planning demonstrations to coincide with the convention.

The activities were set up under the auspices of the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, a coalition of more than 100 leftist groups with various interests. This was the same organization that co-ordinated a massive peace march in New York in April 1967 and a better-remembered march on the Pentagon last October.

DELLINGER, editor of Liberation Magazine, is a New York-based veteran of the radical movement. Fortyish, apple-cheeked and always well-scrubbed, he looks and talks like a small-town lawyer or teacher. In his high-pitched, sing-song voice, he sounds like the soul of sweet reason.

Rumors that his marchers wanted to disrupt the convention, or Chicago, for that matter, were nonsense, Dellinger said. Their intent in coming to the city was to mount a series of demonstrations aimed at expressing the dissatisfaction of the people with the policies of their government.

"We want to encourage active resistance," he said. "We want people to en-

TURN TO PAGE 3, COLUMN 2

David Dellinger
Leading figure in antiwar demonstrations

New Left Increases Respectability in Chicago

FROM PAGE ONE

gage in acts of resistance to these policies.

"The people have to take to the streets and stay in the streets; they have to participate actively in combating the militaristic and racist policies of the state."

Hayden, a slim, tousled, dark-haired young man of 29, saw in the Chicago operation "a beautiful opportunity for a vast convening of the many local movements around the country." To Hayden, a founder of Students for a Democratic Society, Chicago provided a vast arena for protest against numerous aspects of the present system of government, which he regards as oppressive.

A VIETNAM protest was particularly fitting against the party responsible for the scope of the war, he said. He also said that it was time "to break the summer silence of white Americans on the issue of racist persecution."

But, most important, Hayden said, was the need to rally and revive the antiwar movement "which had been confused and relaxed by the Paris peace talks and the McCarthy campaign."

Both Hayden and Dellinger said the protest was intended further to advise the Democratic party that it no longer represented the poeple. The message they wanted to deliver to the delegates, Hayden said, was that there was "an alternative kind of politics to those of the Establishment, politics of unrepresented people taking authority back into their own hands."

Dellinger takes the position that the police — and not the demonstrators — bear the responsibility for the outbreak of violence.

"If the police do not attack us," he said, "then no violence will occur."

HE INSTRUCTS his followers to be nonviolent, often taking pains to remain technically within the law. Rows of marchers are told to stay within a certain distance of one another so as not to violate parade ordinances.

They are cautioned not to block sidewalks or intersections. He often appeals to them to refrain from provoking police.

But Dellinger believes in establishing situations where the people — represented by his forces — confront authority directly. Thus, he negotiates with government for permission to demonstrate, then carries the action to the furthest possible point.

"You've got to keep putting the pressure on," he said. "That's the only way to win concessions."

When denied permission to act, Dellinger will insist on taking one step anyway. Sometimes he wins, such as when Chicago authorities allowed demonstrators to remain all night in Grant Park across from the Hilton despite having refused such permission earlier. Sometimes he loses, as in failing to stage a march on the convention hall when the balloting for the Democratic presidential nominee was being held.

It is in forcing such matters to the point where law enforcement either has to move against the demonstrators or concede to them that the danger of violence lies.

THE CHICAGO experience showed what can happen in such situations.

Furthermore, there is the possibility that individuals involved in a demonstration have their own plans for action. Dellinger concedes that there is nothing he can do to control persons bent on violence.

Within the ranks of the demonstrators is a formidable range of personality. Many in the group here showed antagonism toward the police and guardsmen.

The standard term for a policeman is "pig." Many demonstrators heave rocks, bottles, stakes and other missiles at the policemen who try to move them back. In addition, protest groups seem to be made up of tireless people. Their rallies last through the night, rarely diminishing in volume despite the hour.

The movement unveiled a new tactic in Chicago that proved effective and probably will be tried elsewhere. It was to scatter the protest activity in a way that would force the city's law enforcement and military machinery to be turned against its own citizens. Hayden said it was designed to counteract the city's refusal to permit organized demonstrations, such as the march on the convention hall.

THE IDEA, Hayden said, was to assure that the tear gas used against demonstrators also would affect local residents, that security measures to halt marchers also would inconvenience the whole city — that nonparticipants be involved in police assaults.

"If they are going to disrupt us and our march," he said, "let them disrupt the whole city."

The upshot was that after the march to the convention hall was blocked, demonstrators somehow drew the police into situations in which tear gas spread across large areas, ordinary citizens were clubbed by officers and the entire nation was a spectator to the actions.

Positive Result of Campus Turbulence

Unrest Encouraging Educators Seeking Reforms

LAST OF A SERIES

By WILLIAM F. WOO
Of the Post-Dispatch Staff

AMONG THE POSITIVE results of student unrest, few are expected to be as profound as the encouragement given to administrators and professors who are attempting to reform the system of higher education.

Student activism, to be sure, is not alone responsible for the introspection that is going on at many campuses or for the thoughful efforts of some educators to define and promote methods of learning that are appropriate for the last third of the twenieth century. Unrest and activism, however, have given this endeavor a sense of urgency; they are providing proof of the contention that neither the research university nor the liberal arts college is adequate for the task of educating the modern university student.

Despite the demonstrations and despite the various study commissions that have produced proposals for new styles of education, it seems that universities will yield slowly to reforms.

"The backlash of educational conservatism is very powerful at the same time that the movement for reform is strong," says Carl Schorske, professor of history at the University of California at Berkeley.

"THE INNOVATIONS haven't penetrated the institutions enough. There is a new culture forming and those who are on opposite sides of the barricades do not know how to talk to each other."

Seymour Martin Lipset, a sociologist at Harvard, suggests that student radicals are the cutting edge for liberal revisions or, perhaps more precisely, the force that propels revisions that otherwise would be delayed even longer.

"One of the good things about student unrest is that it has stirred up the professors," says Fred Harvey Harrington, president of the University of Wisconsin. "In the last generation, we have seen professors moving away from undergraduate work. There's been the tendency to live the national life, the international life, the life of professional meetings and seminars.

"Undoubtedly, the rise of the student Left has made many more professors give attention to students."

The professor who wishes to devote his principal attention to undergraduate education, however, may discover substantial obstacles in his way. In some cases, he will find that professional rewards—promotion, grants to underwrite his scholarship, status among his colleagues—will be harder to achieve. Professor Henry Graff of Columbia remarked, "Honor at a university is measured by how little you teach."

In other cases, the professor may find the very structure, the organization, of universities inhibiting to an intensification of undergraduate teaching or innovative experiments in education.

"Basically, the American university system has long required substantial change and I think students have always known this," says Ralph W. Conant, associate director of the Lemberg Center for the Study of Violence at Brandeis University.

"Up until very recently, there's been a kind of tacit mutual agreement to go ahead with the status quo so that the professor could proceed to teach in a way that requires the least effort and the students could earn degrees with the least effort.

"The trouble with the system at most universities is that it places a low priority on education in the best sense and a high priority on efficiency. The radical hard core really feels the whole system is sick. Realistically, the system is too damned healthy, which is why it is threatening them."

NEW APPROACHES to education are difficult to introduce, says Schorske, because the department, the basic faculty unit, in some ways has become obsolete.

"The structure of the university is departmental and the department is a superannuated group," he said. "The most advanced scholars can't get along with the techniques and equipment they learned in graduate school. We're all in interdisciplinary work now, but whenever a collectivist decision is made, it's made in the departments and the least common denominator among us is the education we received a year ago in graduate school."

The calm academic environment that many educators prefer for scholarship frequently is not conducive to either the discussion or implementation of bold experiments that may upset long established traditions. A report of the study Commission on University Governance at Berkeley had this to say:

"Inertia and discouragement have combined to produce a situation in which fundamental educational problems are discussed only sporadically and then in so prosaic a fashion as to make education seem a dreary affair when compared to the melodrama of campus politics. What is worse, the attempts to call attention

TURN TO PAGE 16, COLUMN 1

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

1-B STLOUIS POST-DISPATCH

Date: 9-9-68
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: STLMO

☐ Being Investigated

100-22417
SEARCHED ..... INDEXED
SERIALIZED ..... FILED
SEP 10 1968
FBI — SAINT LOUIS

NW: 15289 Docld: 70001143 Page 48

Unrest Encouraging Campus Changes

FROM PAGE ONE

to severe problems through massive student demonstrations have nourished the delusion that a brief period when students are not massed in Sproul Plaza or milling in Sproul Hall is a sign of institutional health and vigor."

Chancellor Roger Heyns of Berkeley believes that universities must begin tailoring education to fit the needs of students instead of offering rigid curriculums leading to degrees. In a recent conversation, he identified three types of students whose educational needs differ.

"First," he said, "there is the academically and intellectually motivated student who is held back by the rigidity of the present system. He wants to participate early in the life of the mind. Second, another type, a student particularly troubled by the separation of social, political and economic interests from the interests of the classroom. These people would thrive more in clusters of students and professors. Finally, another subgroup, the most politically active students for whom activism is a kind of life style. The most effective professors with them are those who can tolerate unstructured situations and ambiguities.

"The university of the future will be able to identify these groups and accommodate them."

The Berkeley Commission on University Governance has proposed that undergraduate education there be decentralized into five units — the existing College of Letters and Sciences and four new lower-division colleges. The new colleges would have about 500 students each and also their own faculties and budgets.

EACH OF THE colleges would be organized around either a topic or a set of disciplines and would be compact enough so that students and teachers could establish close relationships. Some suggested topics for the colleges include "The Developing Nations," in which students would study economics, political science, sociology and anthropology; and "Language and Culture," which would offer courses in linguistics, philosophy and English.

There are at Berkeley, in fact, already procedures by which a new college could be created immediately. Shortly after the Free Speech Movement of 1964, a committee under the chairmanship of Prof. Charles Muscatine made a thorough study of education at Berkeley. Among other things, the committee recommended a program called the Board of Educational Development, which was approved by the school. Under the Board, students and professors may suggest new courses, sets of courses or an entire curriculum.

"We haven't used this with the full thrust which it's capable of," Muscatine said recently. "Up to now, it has been used generally for the introduction of new courses. I'm waiting for someone to come along and say, 'I don't want a course but a college.' We ought to have a small college which would give students what they don't get in standard offerings. We have 3000 courses in the university catalogue, but there must be other ways to learn.

"In my own idea for a college, courses would introduce kids not so much to a field but a way of thinking. That is, a course in economics would not be an introduction to economics as a discipline but an introduction to an economist — how he works and how he solves problems. This would involve using a great research faculty to full advantage. It would get professors involving kids in problems that he himself is interested in.

"Would the Board of Educational Development have come about without the student unrest here? No. Next question."

Students have known for years that they can learn from other students. A traditional feature in dormitories is the study or cram group that assembles before examination time. The popularity of the free universities, too, testifies to the fact that many students enjoy learning from persons of their own age and interest groups.

"The most effective teachers are usually other students," says a report published this year by the Hazen Foundation of New Haven, Conn. "While classroom instructors obviously have greater knowledge and more skills than a student's classmates, his classmates interact with him more frequently and at a deeper and more intimate level."

LAST FALL, Stanford University began the Serra House experiment in which 90 students of both sexes moved into four residence halls. The students helped organize an academic program that was conducted within the halls. In the course of the year, they studied subjects that included problems of the inner city, law and the Negro, drugs and community action, human values in a technological society and sex roles in modern society.

Students in the Serra House experiment took part in community action projects, went on field trips and worked on independent projects. Two students, for example, worked part time at the Palo Alto office of the California State Department of Employment. In the evenings, faculty members and visiting seminarians met informally with the students.

"Colleges are learning that the traditional arrangements for dormitories were not very good for learning," says Joseph Katz, associate director of the Stanford Institute for the Study of Human Problems and one of the authors of the Hazen Foundation report.

"Dormitories ought to be more than just a place to sleep. They could be places for intellectual activities, classes, encounter groups where small groups of people really open up to each other. We're going to be taking more seriously the fact that students can learn from each other."

Prof. Katz and Carl Schorske of Berkeley are among those educators who are convinced that teachers must begin to accept a new concept of their profession if educational innovations are to be adopted. They speak of the distinction between the scholarly and the "service" approach to education. As they define it, a teacher who believes in the service approach is concerned with more than leaving a student with an understanding of a discipline such as mathematics.

The Hazen Foundation report defines the premise of the service approach: "By the very fact that it presumes to inform the minds of the young, the college becomes involved in the development of the whole person, of which the intellectual faculties are but a part. The time has come for the college to realize the extent of its power to influence personality development and to take full responsibility for the way this power is executed."

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 49

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

Student Protests Stimulated Conflicting Reactions

SIXTH IN A SERIES

By WILLIAM F. WOO
Of the Post-Dispatch Staff

LAST JUNE, the students who had entered the University of California at Berkeley as freshmen in the year of the Free Speech Movement were graduated. At their baccalaureate service, Robert A. Boyd, a vice chancellor, addressed himself to the consequences at the school of four years of intense activism.

"After four years of sit-ins, marches, strikes, demands, mill-ins and now, sadly, mindless vandalism, it seems fair to ask, 'What changes have in fact been produced?' " said Boyd, who himself was leaving Berkeley to become president of a college in Michigan.

The answers he proposed were not encouraging. The faculty, he said, had not changed much in quality, but now it was more difficult to recruit scholars and salaries were less competitive. The students, too, had not changed much in intellectual ability; however, now more and more were choosing Berkeley not for its academic resources but for its continuing climate of activism. Demagoguery had replaced Nobel laureates as an attraction, he said.

"I suspect that the most noticeable change of the last four years has been in the hearts of people," Boyd said. "Berkeley was once the crown jewel of California, a source of affection and pride for this state. Year after year the Legislature gave what was asked for its support until finally it produced one of the world's finest universities.

"Now our very name is shorthand for trouble, our budgets are inadequate, our lagging salary schedule makes faculty recruitment ever more difficult and the public holds us in varying degrees of distrust or disgust. To the extent that the objectives of student activists were to produce a better university, they have failed miserably."

If student unrest has contributed toward greater student participation in the academic and governing affairs of universities, it also has stimulated a reaction that many educators feel will do far more than damage the causes of activists. This reaction from politicians and influential alumni, not to mention the general public, may jeopardize universities themselves.

"At times there is the nightmare of what student unrest may do to the university," said Thomas H. Eliot, chancellor of Washington University. "The reaction, if it continues in the fall, may impair the autonomy of the school."

"I think student unrest has greatly reduced public support," said Roger W. Heyns, chancellor at Berkeley. "I don't think this is something on the horizon. It's already happening."

As an example, Heyns pointed to the action taken in May by the House of Representatives, which voted to deny federal financial assistance to students who take part in campus riots, the seizure of buildings or other disruptive activities.

"If we do run into a heavy period of repression, it will retard the movement toward student power, student participation," said President Fred Harvey Harrington of the University of Wisconsin. "I think any repressive action that crushes the activists would be very distressing.

"Unquestionably, though, we'll see difficulty next year which will result in more repression. I see some very disturbing signs in things that have happened: the looting of (Grayson) Kirk's office (at Columbia University), the looting of President Sterling's office at Stanford. These are actions which are not going to win the Left much sympathy."

Prolonged activism, too, seems to erode the support of faculty members who originally were in support of dissident students. And where there is no faculty support or sympathy, student activism seldom makes significant progress.

As a case in point, the demonstrators this spring at Marquette University failed to make much headway until three faculty members, including the noted theologian, the Rev. Bernard Cooke S.J., an-

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

3-B STLOUIS POST-DISPATCH

Date: 9-8-68
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title:

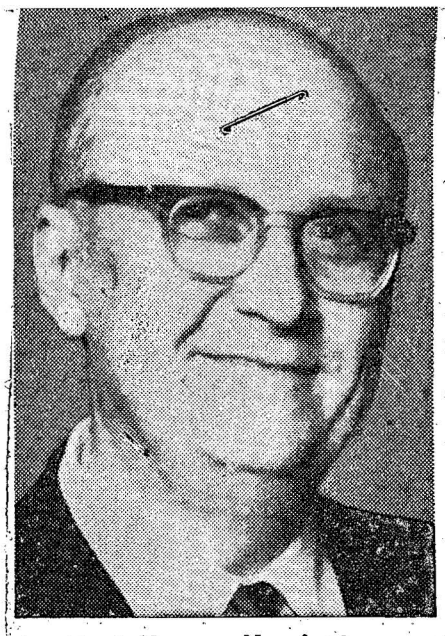
Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: SLMO

☐ Being Investigated

100-21213-18

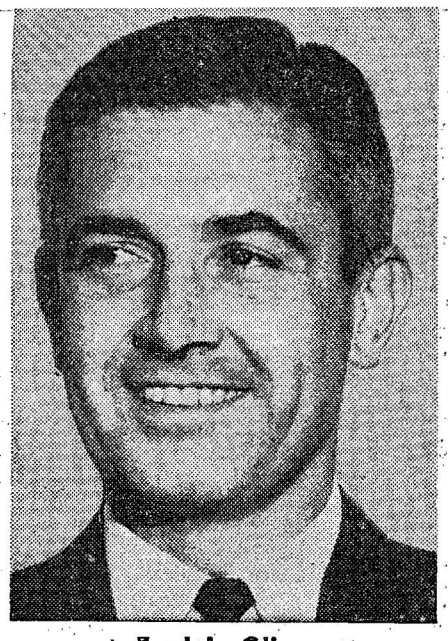
SEARCHED.... INDEXED....
SERIALIZED.... FILED....
SEP 1 01968
FBI — SAINT LOUIS

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 50



Fred Harvey Harrington

". . . any repressive action that crushes the activists would be very distressing."



Fred L. Glimp

"Most of them genuinely wanted someone to talk to."

nounced they would resign within 48 hours if they could not say, with clear conscience, that the administration was taking positive and immediate action on the issues.

At San Francisco State College, where agitation is something of a year-round occurrence, there is evidence that the faculty is growing less tolerant of it. The faculty senate voted this year, 24 to 4, to abolish the Reserve Officers Training Corps, a demand of activists. Later, though, the entire faculty voted, 282 to 252, to retain ROTC. Between the votes, the activists had staged another disruptive demonstration.

Also, in April, a faculty committee to nominate a new president at San Francisco State — the previous one had resigned in the aftermath of several confrontations — turned down a proposal to include students in the deliberation.

"I know this was a political reaction," said Glenn P. Smith, a vice president. "Six months ago, the proposal for student representation would certainly have carried."

"A number of faculty members, who during the Free Speech Movement were excited and willing to have things clogged up, now have bethought themselves," said Walter D. Knight, dean of Berkeley's college of letters and sciences. "These are the people who now feel all possible means of redress have not been exhausted. There's definitely a negative feeling now about the possibility of disruption."

Over the last year — especially over the summer — there have been increasing efforts by educators to develop appropriate tactics to deal with demonstrators. For several reasons, this task has proved to be difficult: There seems to be an innate reluctance among educators to deal with the subject; many faculty members are apathetic about activism, and the tactics themselves are likely to be complicated. They must be powerful enough to stop or contain disruption without being so oppressive that moderate students become sympathetic with the radicals.

"Universities are slow about developing security methods," said Leon D. Epstein, dean of Wisconsin's college of letters and sciences. "Perhaps there's a reluctance to admit that the universities need them."

"We're being forced to devise our own tactical plans for the kind of thing that took place at Columbia," Harold B. Whiteside Jr., an assistant chancellor at New York University, said. "But, personally, I resent laying plans for presumptive condition 'A.' There just seem to be more important things to be done in the world of education."

At some schools, faculty members who were prominent when disorders occurred have been noticeably absent weeks or months later when remedial measures were discussed or the underlying causes of the disorders debated. This spring at Wisconsin, where a few months earlier a demonstration against a Dow Chemical Co. recruiter had disintegrated into violence, a faculty meeting was called to discuss the impact of the Vietnam war on the university. Of about 2000 faculty members, 221 attended.

"The faculty can play this game of conservatism while the administration gets hacked to pieces," one Wisconsin dean said.

"I wish to hell I knew how to respond quickly and well, but trying to move a faculty is like trying to move a graveyard," said the Rev. John Robert Cortelyou C.M., president of DePaul University.

With bitterness, a young dean at Marquette said, "The senior faculty simply doesn't give a damn. The younger ones do, but what clout do they have in this institution? We say to the students, 'Go work through channels,' and then the channels don't work."

Perhaps the most explicit set of tactics adopted by a university was made public this May by the Rev. Paul C. Reinert, SJ, president of St. Louis University. In cases of disruptive activities, Father Reinert said, students will be given five minutes to disperse. If the demonstrators fail to leave, city police will be called and arrests will be made. Students participating in such demonstrations will be suspended automatically.

The St. Louis University policy is unusual not only for its firmness but also for the fact that it was made public. Some educators, DePaul's Father Cortelyou among them, believe that the publicizing of specific penalties leaves the university little room for maneuvering in a crisis. They also think that a publicized policy is an open challenge to activists to defy it.

Nevertheless, it was clear from interviews on many campuses that most administrators will not refrain from using the police to end disruptions. The manner and extent of employing the police is a point of debate. Also, it is realized that force can be used for only a limited number of occasions before it becomes self-defeating.

"We'll use force again if we have to, but we can't do it indefinitely without the wounds becoming too deep or having the city complain about our overusing its police services," said David B. Truman, provost of Columbia University.

The experience of two universities suggests, too, that the police may not always be available in times of disruption — or, at least, available in the numbers an administration thinks appropriate. At Northwestern University, when black students seized the business office, one reason the administration did not call the police was that the Evanston, Ill., force was too small to handle the situation quickly. The alternative would have been to bring in Cook county authorities and to take the students to the county jail. This, administrators felt, would have been an unacceptable escalation of the confrontation.

After the Dow incident at Wisconsin, the Madison police informed the university that they would no longer intervene in campus disruptions. Several policemen had been injured in the demonstration. Wisconsin administrators consequently face the dilemma of realizing the occasional necessity to use force in disruptions but having neither the municipal police nor sufficient campus patrolmen to call on.

The schools most successful in avoiding the large-scale disruptions that require police intervention have been those institutions in which there have been traditions of easy communication between the students and the faculty and administration. Two examples are Harvard and the University of Chicago.

Shortly after the peace march on the Pentagon last fall, Harvard students staged a sit-in at the building where a Dow recruiter was conducting interviews. The sit-in continued for several hours after the interviews were concluded and the recruiter was unable to leave. During the sit-in, many senior faculty members, including some masters of Harvard's residence houses, walked among the students, talking and answering questions. Younger teachers and tutors were present also.

"The kids were tremendously upset," Fred L. Glimp, dean of Harvard College, said. "Most of them genuinely wanted someone to talk to.

"Ever since the Dow incident, every administrator, every faculty member has talked his head off to students. This year there has been an amazing amount of effort to try to get the students to talk about things they don't like. In a sense this isn't new, but the pace has really accelerated."

The University of Chicago this year witnessed a series of incidents, each of which could have developed into a general student strike. The most complicated and potentially explosive of these incidents involved the school's relationship with Woodlawn, a neighboring ghetto area.

On May 10, students calling themselves the Committee for a Responsible University (CRU) sent the school a set of demands and asked for a reply within five days. Professor Julian Levi of the law school, a member of the university's Center for Urban Studies, who has long been involved in Woodlawn affairs, replied in three days. He said members of CRU would be welcome to serve on the Faculty Woodlawn Committee, provided only that they become full working members.

Shortly thereafter, another student group, the Ad Hoc Committee on Housing, distributed a paper titled "The Housing Game and How to Play It." The paper was delivered to the administration on a Thursday. It called for a mass student meeting the following Monday. The paper began:

"The university, in its attempt to create a community within which to exist, has followed and is following a policy directed primarily against students and lower-class blacks."

Monday, shortly before the meeting was to begin, Dean Charles O'Connell distributed a 14-page memorandum to the entire student body. The memorandum contained the ad hoc committee's allegations and point-by-point replies backed up by factual data. The student strike never materialized.

"There is something today we can call 'instant authority,' the quick pamphlet," Dean O'Connell said. "I must have worked 72 hours on the Woodlawn report, simply trying to collect all the facts

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 51

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Student Power Caught Universities Flatfooted

FIFTH OF A SERIES

By WILLIAM F. WOO

Of the Post-Dispatch Staff

IN THE FOUR YEARS since the Free Speech Movement at Berkeley signaled the transition from apathy to activism on American campuses, few phrases have been more controversial in education than student power. Paradoxically, few concepts are less controversial than the one that underlies student power.

Like another provocative slogan, Black Power, student power is an example of metaphor outrunning substance, spreading alarm ahead of comprehension. The concept underlying student power is one of students participating more fully in the affairs of their universities and it is one of the few propositions on which academic radicals and conservatives agree.

The controversy lies in defining the manner and extent of student participation.

The rhetoric of the more militant student power advocates is harsh enough to frighten all but the most sympathetic educators. In a booklet titled "The New Radicals in the Multiversity," published by the Students for a Democratic Society, Carl Davidson writes:

"To begin, all aspects of the nonacademic life of the campus should either be under the control of the students as individuals or embodied in the institutions they establish for their collective government . . .

"Second, only the students and the teaching faculty, individually and through

Miss Jacqueline Grennan

". . . a good way to close down an institution . . ."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

1-B ST LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

Date: 9. 6. 68

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Title:

Character:

or

Classification: SIMO

Submitting Office:

☐ Being Investigated

100-212137-19

SEARCHED.....INDEXED.....

SERIALIZED.....FILED.....

SEP 1 0 1968

FBI — SAINT LOUIS

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 52

their organizations, should control the academic affairs of the university."

WHAT DAVIDSON is discussing is control; what most adminstrators are willing to grant is some participation in decision making.

"If participatory democracy means everybody can have an equal voice in decision and influence then it's a lot of rot," says Miss Jacqueline Grennan, president of Webster College. "That's a good way to close down an institution. Participatory democracy must be more specific than that. It needs to find areas where discreet decisions can be made. We've got to find ways to let the consequences of decisions come back to kids more quickly."

"There must be ways in which student views can be channeled into decision-making arenas," David B. Truman, provost of Columbia University, said recently. "It's going to be tricky, but what we need to do is give students access to places where their concerns are most immediately felt."

One reason student power is controversial is that it seems to have taken some educators by surprise. Chancellor Roger W. Heyns of Berkeley suggests that the students' desire for more control over their education could have been foreseen if only some research had been undertaken on the subject.

"Why should these things catch us flatfooted?" he asked not long ago. "It's because we aren't making regular assessments from year to year. R and D (research and development) would have shown us that this was a high participation generation."

STUDENT POWER demands generally have been focused in three areas: academic matters, extracurricular issues and the policies of universities. Administrators are more reluctant to give students a role in determining matters of policy that may involve long-term financial investments or political consequences. In academic and extracurricular matters, however, students have had considerable success in achieving a measure of participation.

"If we dismiss the student tone, swallow hard and just think about what they're saying, we usually find that we disagree only on the means, not the ends," says Charles D. O'Connell, dean of students at the University of Chicago. "As I watch

TURN TO PAGE 4, COLUMN 1

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 53

Student Power Concept

FROM PAGE ONE

these demands come in, the administrators and faculty are seldom in dramatic disagreement with the issues."

In academic affairs, student participation usually is in course planning, curriculum studies and, very occasionally, the selection and retention of faculty members.

"I think the involvement of student opinion in curriculum making at the undergraduate level is an awfully good thing," says Chancellor Thomas H. Eliot of Washington University, where students have helped design several courses, including one in black enconomics, which will be given this fall.

At Harvard, where such programs as individual studies have long allowed students a measure of control over the content of their studies, it generally is felt that students can be most effective in advisory capacities rather than as members of committees.

"WE'LL LISTEN to any thoughtful suggestion for change by students, faculty, alumni or anyone else, but we will not change just to keep the students amused," Franklin Ford, dean of the Harvard faculty of arts and sciences, said.

"In many cases I think we do better to keep students advised about what we're thinking of so that they can summon expert and concerned witnesses on the issues. I think this is more conducive to a thoughtful presentation on a wide spectrum of issues than if we had a few students on standing committees. There's more intellectual input this way than you'd get from a student minority on a committee."

At some schools, student power has made notable accomplishments at the curricular level. After the Free Speech episode at Berkeley, a faculty committee recommended and the school adopted a program called the Board of Educational Development. Under this program, students with a faculty sponsor may suggest and plan their own courses. Last year the school approved about 50 such proposals.

The controversial Experimental College at San Francisco State College is run entirely by students. Several of its more than 70 courses are offered for credit. In one course, students produced a 164-page volume evaluating the faculty. This report showed that the students thought a teacher's ability to make a course relevant to daily life and his willingness to let students help decide the direction of the course were as important as his knowledge of the subject.

Few schools, however, are likely to go as far in encouraging student participation as the State University of New York College at Old Westbury, which opens this month with an experimental enrollment of about 75 students. The school expects to have 1000 students by 1970.

THE OLD Westbury campus will operate under an explicit mandate from the New York state university system to "admit students to full partnership in the academic world and grant them the right to determine, in large measure, their own areas to study and research."

Not all educators — even among those who favor a measure of student participation — are convinced that students can make a valuable contribution in academic areas. They cite students' lack of experience or knowledge as serious handicaps.

"I think this is the area where students have the least valid opinion," said Edwin G. Eigel, dean of St. Louis University's graduate school. "They're schools, among them Northwestern, have demanded the right to help set admissions policies for minority group students. Student governments are demanding larger budgetary responsibilities. At San Francisco State, the student government voted most of its $312,000 budget to the Experimental College and student community programs and none to intercollegiate athletics.

As a result of campus demonstrations, almost all of which involve the breaking of university regulations, students are paying particular attention to disciplinary procedures. The traditional arbitrary powers of discipline, usually wielded by deans, have come under heavy criticism, especially because now the penalty of suspension frequently leaves the student vulnerable to the draft.

At some schools, demonstrations have pointed out the inadequacies of traditional disciplinary processes. At Stanford University, where some students live in co-educational dormitories and a topless dancer ran for student government president, the disciplinary code, the Fundamental Standard, dates back to David Starr Jordan, the school's first president.

"STUDENTS are expected to show within and without the university respect for order, morality, personal honor and the rights of others as is demanded of good citizens," the Standard says. "Failure to observe this will be sufficient cause for removal from the university."

Such a gentleman's code may have been sufficient for discipling a student caught cribbing, but it was painfully inefficient for dealing with the disruptive sit-in this spring in which students seized the administration building. The faculty eventually voted 284-245 to give the demonstrators amnesty and two student-faculty committees were established to develop and enforce rules for campus discipline.

Philip Rhinelander, professor of philosophy at Stanford, suggested that some faculty members voted for amnesty because there were no realistic procedures at the school to bring disciplinary action against hundreds of students.

The nature of campus disruptions has raised new questions regarding discipline. Should students convicted of criminal charges be tried by the university for the same offense? Should administrators who collect evidence against students also determine their guilt or innocence? Should students have the right to legal counsel at disciplinary hearings? Should specific offenses carry specific penalties? Not many institutions have procedures that cover these matters.

That students are extremely interested in these issues was illustrated this year at the University of Wisconsin, where a large demonstration occurred when a recruiter from the Dow Chemical Co. arrived on the campus. A committee was appointed to study methods of response to obstructions and disciplinary procedures. On the 14-member committee there were places for seven students. More than 100 applied.

AMONG the committee's recommendations: "We do not consider the sanction of expulsion (as distinguished from suspension) is an appropriate response for any disciplinary problems which confront an educational institution."

"If some particular behavior is prosecuted in a criminal court, the university shall normally accept the court's judgment as full disposition."

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 54

College at Old Westbury, which opens this month with an experimental enrollment of about 75 students. The school expects to have 1000 students by 1970.

THE OLD Westbury campus will operate under an explicit mandate from the New York state university system to "admit students to full partnership in the academic world and grant them the right to determine, in large measure, their own areas to study and research."

Not all educators — even among those who favor a measure of student participation — are convinced that students can make a valuable contribution in academic areas. They cite students' lack of experience or knowledge as serious handicaps.

"I think this is the area where students have the least valid opinion," said Edwin G. Eigel, dean of St. Louis University's graduate school. "They're going to have a hard time justifying that their opinions are valid."

"There are all these fringe areas that scare you to death, like students controlling curriculum," Fred C. Davison, president of the University of Georgia, said. "If it comes to the point where the student knows what should be in the course, then there's no use for a faculty. I'm the old-fashioned type who believes the faculty knows best."

Other educators note that although students may perceive shortcomings in their education, they frequently either are unwilling or unable to go through the delicate and deliberate process of revising courses.

"Students often have a good feel for problems, but they don't have a good feeling for solutions," Bryant E. Kearl, acting chancellor of the University of Wisconsin, says, "Students tend to feel there are general, university-wide solutions to curricula."

"MY COMMITTEE was notoriously unsuccessful in getting radicals to contribute to it," says Professor Charles Muscatine, chairman of the Berkeley committee that produced, among other things, the recommendation for the Board of Education Development. "I went to them and practically begged them to help."

In extracurricular matters, students now concentrate on matters that previously were the exclusive concerns of administrators as well as on the more traditional areas of undergraduate participation — student government, campus newspapers, committees that determine dress and social regulations.

Black students at several

er these matters.

That students are extremely interested in these issues was illustrated this year at the University of Wisconsin, where a large demonstration occurred when a recruiter from the Dow Chemical Co. arrived on the campus. A committee was appointed to study methods of response to obstructions and disciplinary procedures. On the 14-member committee there were places for seven students. More than 100 applied.

AMONG the committee's recommendations: "We do not consider the sanction of expulsion (as distinguished from suspension) is an appropriate response for any disciplinary problems which confront an educational institution."

"If some particular behavior is prosecuted in a criminal court, the university shall normally accept the court's judgment as full disposition."

Even as students are achieving greater participation, some educators fear that students, impatient for change, will become disillusioned by the slow, deliberative manner in which committees operate.

"The trouble is the committees are controlled by tenured professors who tend to obstruct change," says Donald J. McCarty, dean of Wisconsin's School of Education. "For instance, take the curriculum for professional sequence in our education school, the courses one has to take to become a teacher. It hasn't been changed in 28 years. I submit a proposal to review the curriculum and professors raise the issue of academic freedom."

"My private prediction," says Miss Grennan, "is that in the next two years the tour de force will be between the students and the faculty, when the students learn the complicated structure of faculty committees. And the battle is going to be very sophisticated."

Sunday: The reaction to activism.

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 55

Negro College Students Succeed In Getting Campus Changes

FOURTH OF A SERIES

By WILLIAM F. WOO

Of the Post-Dispatch Staff

WITH NOTABLE exceptions, the campus demonstrations of the last school year produced few clear and immediate victories for either dissident students or university administrators. The exceptions were in the confrontations mounted by various black student organizations.

In contrast to activist groups that are predominantly white, such as the Students for a Democratic Society, Negro students have been successful in getting many of their demands accepted.

"In a funny way, the black students may be the salvation of us all," says Robert Rozenzweig, vice provost in charge of minority affairs at Stanford University. "Theirs is the one group that has been unswervingly for educational goals. They didn't want to tear the place down. They wanted more education for black people."

If there is a crucial difference in the approaches of white and black student activists, it is this: Radical whites frequently feel that their interests are best served when the university responds negatively or breaks down entirely; black students seek concessions that universities not only are able to make, but, in many cases, also feel obliged to make.

BLACK STUDENTS seem to have a surer sense of the uses of power than do white activists. When the Columbia University dissidents, most of whom were white, effectively and quickly shut down the school this spring, they had accumulated enormous power. Nearly a week passed, however, while the leaders discussed what to do. Finally, in a move that suggested they had thought of nothing new, the students seized another building.

At Northwestern University this May, Negroes occupied a building and held it until they were satisfied with the university's concessions. They knew exactly what they wanted and, having won it, left quietly with no attempt to change or increase the original demands.

The episode at Northwestern, in fact, is worth examining for several reasons. The demands of the black students there essentially were the demands made by Negroes at other campuses. It shows also that sensitive administrators and intelligent student leaders can come to an agreement, even in a potentially explosive situation, if the issues are stated clearly and both sides agree to discuss them.

Negro students at Northwestern University emerging with fists clenched in victory after the administration acceded to virtually all of their demands last May. (Associated Press Wirephoto)

In the fall of 1965, when Roland J. Hinz became the new director of admissions, Northwestern had 29 Negro students, virtually all of them athletes. Five of the 29 were entering freshmen. With the support of the faculty, Hinz set out to recruit more black students and by last fall there were 65 freshmen and a total of about 125 Negroes at Northwestern.

"THE SCHOOL felt good about bringing Negroes in," Robert H. Strotz, dean of the college of arts and sciences, said recently. "We felt, we (now) have Negroes on the campus who aren't even athletes. I suppose this was the great liberal smugness."

Black students at the school, however, felt isolated. As Hinz, now the vice president for student affairs, describes it, Negroes felt rebuffed and ignored. At times, incidents of open hostility occurred. It was reported that automobiles driven by white students would bear down on Negroes, with occupants of the cars shouting abuse and throwing beer cans. Lucius F. Gregg Jr., a Negro and associate dean of science and research, remembers the day when a sniper at a fraternity house shot out 14 windows at his home.

In addition, black students were becoming dissatisfied with the courses offered at Northwestern. The principal complaint was that few subjects seemed relevant to Negro life.

"If someone would have told me when I went to the Naval Academy in 1951 that I was going to learn things applicable to the South Side ghetto, he would have had a fight on his hands," Dean Gregg said. "At the time, the idea was to get as far away from the ghetto as possible.

"Fortunately, the new generation has seen the wrongs of this approach, this desire to try to leave the ghetto and integrate. The relevance of a curriculum depends on what you want to do when you get out. These kids are on a round trip

TURN TO PAGE 4, COLUMN 1

NW 15289 Docld: 70001143 Page 56

Students

FROM PAGE ONE

from the ghetto now and they want to make sure that when they make that return trip they will have gathered some insights here."

FOR SEVERAL weeks before the confrontation, black students had been negotiating with the administration over a set of issues. In brief, the Negro demands included an increase in the number of black students, expecially those from inner-city areas; a place set aside on campus for black social and cultural activities; courses in black history and culture; living accommodations that could be reserved for Negro students, and an admission that racism existed at Northwestern.

"It became clear to black students that they had to do something to get the administration to rearrange its priorities," said James Turner, a doctoral candidate in sociology and chairman of the Afro-American Student Union. "It also was clear that we needed a leverage of power to achieve change. Good will hadn't achieved it. Having reached this juncture, we began to think about tactics."

At 7:45 a.m. on May 3, about 80 black students entered the deserted college business office and within eight minutes they had secured the building, chaining the doors shut behind them. Hinz later recalled, "It was a beautiful military exercise."

The black students had chosen the building carefully. In the basement, behind a pink door at the end of a long corridor, was the university's IBM 360 computer system, which contined, on its spools of magnetic tapes, irreplaceable financial records.

"We had conceived of every eventuality and we were prepared to stand," Turner said. "Our response would be commensurate with the kind of action taken by the administration. We told them what the limits were if the police came in or threw tear gas pellets, in the air-conditioning or did anything to threaten the health of black students. The limits were that physical harm would result in property damage to the school.

"IF THEY decided to be sober and rational, the building would not be harmed. We had been a long time in preparing the students ideologically and the mood in the building was one of discipline and commitment."

Top administrators informed Turner that police would not be called and then they met for 15 hours, reveiwing the demands. On the next day, the students and administrators met for 10 hours and finally reached an agreement.

The settlement included special living arrangements for black students and the admission that Northwestern had been a racist institution. The board of trustees later ratified the agreement, but deplored the tactics of the students. The board enjoined the administration from ever negotiating again while disprutive activities were going on.

"In my opinion — and I have to take a significant share of the responsibility — the demands in the main were valid," Hinz said. "There was an immediacy and relevancy to the demands set forth by blacks. The demands from whites here and on other campuses have been highly theoretical. In fact, if this episode had been white radicals, SDS, occupying the building, I think we would have responded in a totally different way."

"The university," said Dean Strotz, "responds by committee and here lies the problem: getting the the attention of the top administration. The occupation of the building by blacks was a dramatic demand to be listened to."

Despite the fact that many schools have acceded to the demands of Negro students, there are aspects of the black student movement that educators regard with a certain uneasiness. Not the least of these is the implication that a new system of racial quotas may be employed by schools.

"The administration and faculty reaction here was that we're certainly not going to get into the quota business," said Franklin Ford, dean of Harvard's faculty of arts and sciences.

"We're discriminating the other way now and this bothers some people," says Harold B. Whiteside Jr., assistant chancellor of New York University.

THE MATTER of financing more education for Negroes also is a problem at many universities. In addition to direct financial aid to black students, a university must consider the expense of additional professors, graduate assistants or tutors, counselors, supplies and equipment.

These costs mean that some schools that are planning programs for additional black students will be unable to afford them unless federal or private funds become available. An example is Marquette University, which decided after a sit-in this year to increase its black student enrollment significantly.

Warren G. Bovee, chairman of a faculty committee studying

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

Students

FROM PRECEDING PAGE

the proposed increase, said his group would recommend that the school admit 50 to 60 additional black students a year beginning in 1969.

"It is something like $13,000,000 to endow this kind of program and that is for grant money alone," Bovee said.

Marquette's total endowment is $9,000,000 and its operating budget, which had a programmed deficit of more than $500,000 last year, is about $20,000,000.

PERHAPS the most controversial aspect of the black student movement is the demand for black studies.

"There is a terrible preoccupation here with Afro-American studies," an administrator at the University of Wisconsin said. "This may mean that 10 years from now we'll no longer have a great history department, but instead we'll have a good Negro history department. Decisions on these subjects are being made on political considerations."

Some educators are concerned that demands for "relevant course" will mean the appointment to faculties of black scholars without such traditional requirements as doctorates. These appointments, some feel, may weaken departments. Others worry that a kind of academic seperatism may occur, in which Negro and white professors give different versions of the same material.

Such a separatism, in fact, has occured. Last year at San Francisco State College black students objected to the way in which a white professor was conducting his course. They brought in a black lecturer to teach the same subject. Apparently not all blacks agreed with this tactic.

"The whites and the 'Negroes' stayed with the regular teacher," says Nathan Hare, director of black studies at San Francisco State. "The black students listened to the black lecturer."

The explicit distinction between "Negroes" and "blacks" that Hare made underscores another theme in the black student movement. At most campuses, black students have formally asked administrators and college newspapers to refer to them as blacks rather than Negroes. To activists in the movement, the term Negro connotes an unacceptable identification with what they see as the values of white institutions.

HARE, a sociologist, went to the college in February. Last year there were about 15 courses in black studies at the school, which probably has the most extensive program of its kind in the country. This fall, Hare hopes to increase the number of courses to 30. He hopes to have the program accredited soon as a degree-warding department.

Some courses in the black udies program will not be n to white students, Hare l. An example, he said, ld be one entitled "Impro- tions in Blackness."

he white man's been want- is to act like white people ears," Hare said. "Now if ok a white student in this e, we'd be doing just the se. I don't think we could s."

h of the black studies ake place in the commu- Hare said. A course in k history might organize discussions in church ments or form history for young Negroes, he Students in a course on politics might become ap- ices to black politicians.

st spring, the black studies logue had on its cover a re of a black man holding utomatic rifle and a book d "Black Studies." Hare asked to explain the signifi-

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 57

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

SDS Plays Prominent Role in Campus Rebellions

sess at any one time. SDS operates under the principle of participatory democracy, which means that anyone, even a nonstudent, attending an SDS meeing is considered a member and is entitled to vote. These irregulars are called chapter members and Klonsky estimates there are 35,000 in this category, a figure that is difficult either to challenge or verify. A visitor to several universities found that even local SDS members were unable to say how many persons belonged to the chapter.

Because each chapter decides upon local programs, the national office functions primarily as a co-ordinating, advisory and publishing agency, K l o n s k y said. SDS owns a printing press and, in addition to New Left Notes, the organization publishes pamphlets and booklets.

One booklet, "The New Radicals in the Multiversity" by Carl Davidson, serves two purposes. It can be read either as a description of the SDS philosophy or as a manual on the mechanics of confrontation. Some excerpts follow:

"What we are witnessing and participating in is an important historical phenomenon: the revolt of the trainees of the new working class against the alienated and oppressive conditions of production within corporate capitalism.

"If there is a single over-all purpose for the student power movement, it would be the development of a radical political consciousness among those students who will later hold jobs in strategic sectors of the political economy. This means we should reach out to engineers and technical students rather than business administration majors, education majors rather than to art majors.

"DO WE WORK within the system? Of course we do. The question is not one of working 'inside' or 'outside' the system. Rather the question is do we play by the established rules? Here, the answer is an emphatic no.

"First of all, we should avoid the kinds of reforms which leave the basic rationale of the system unchallenged. For instance, a bad reform to work for would be getting a better grading system, because the

TURN TO PAGE 7, COLUMN 1.

newspaper, etc.)

1-D ST LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

Date: 9.4.68
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: SLMO

☐ Being Investigated

0 100-212123-21
SEARCHED.....INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....FILED.....
SEP 1 01968
FBI — SAINT LOUIS

Moderates

"Down with aggressive, imperialist warmongers. America, when will you be worthy of your 50,000 Trotskyites?"

"To rebel is just."

"God forgive America."

Graffiti at New York University.

THIRD OF A SERIES

By WILLIAM F. WOO
Of the Post-Dispatch Staff

IN THE PRIVATE demonology of many university administrators, a conspicious place is occupied these days by the Students for a Democratic Society, an organization of radical young men and women dedicated to creating a revolution in American society as well as on the campuses where they happen to be studying.

From New York to California, Wisconsin to Georgia, campus demonstrations and rebellions were led this last year by SDS. Although they represent only a tiny fraction of the student population, SDS members have been remarkably successful in recruiting—perhaps only temporarily—many more moderate young people to their causes. This accomplishment has bewildered some educators who believe that the inclusion of a few students on committees effectively neutralizes the conditions that breed student unrest.

SDS leaders regard their successful recruiting in a manner that may be equally unrealistic. Many interpret the support of moderates on a particular university issue as evidence of an imminent and wholesale defection from the values and philosophy of capitalism.

A RECENT ISSUE of New Left Notes, the official SDS newspaper, informed its readers the time had arrived to export the revolution beyond the campuses. The article suggested that SDS members should establish alliances with workers by supporting strikes and taking summer jobs in industry.

"By going into the factories to work over the summer, students can learn first-hand the real class oppression of workers," the author wrote. "By bringing our political ideas to workers we can bring a more concrete understanding of the relation of the war, racism and other political issues to class consciousness."

The national headquarters of SDS occupies the second floor of a run-down building in west Chicago. Two other organizations, the Chicago Peace Center and Women for Peace, share space with SDS, each having their offices in the little rooms that branch off a long dark corridor.

When a reporter visited the office recently, the place was largely deserted; SDS apparently was just moving in. A few boys and girls in blue jeans were moving office equipment around. Neither the Women for Peace nor the staff of the Peace Center seemed to be around. Downstairs, on the street, workmen were replacing a window at the Los Americas, a restaurant next door that had been bombed the previous night.

THE NEW NATIONAL secretary of SDS is Michael Klonsky, who has worked in the organization two years and has a degree in English from San Fernando (Calif.) State College. He regards himself as a Communist, although, one gathers, with some uncertainty. At the national SDS convention in June, someone accused Klonsky of being a Stalinist and he was reported to have replied, "Having been a Communist a few months, I have difficulty understanding that concept."

Klonsky, a thin young man who speaks with a nervous quickness, said that three factors contributed to his becoming a radical. When he was in the Army Reserve, he said, he realized he might have to shoot at Negroes if he was called to riot duty. Later, working as a reporter for several small southern California newspapers, he discovered that there were certain stories he was unable to get published.

Finally, he said, he became a radical by observing what he decided were basic contradictions in American society. He went on to suggest that anyone interested in these contradictions would find it useful to read the pamphlet on contradictions by Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

SDS was founded in 1961, although the organization has roots going back more than 60 years through an organization called the League for Industrial Democracy, whose early members included Jack London and Upton Sinclair. Today, Klonsky says, SDS has chapters on about 250 campuses and about 6000 "national members," who pay yearly dues of $5 and subscribe to New Left Notes.

EXCEPT FOR national members, the [illegible] of SDS is difficult to as-

35,000 in this category, a figure that is difficult either to challenge or verify. A visitor to several universities found that even local SDS members were unable to

addition to New Left Notes, the organization publishes pamphlets and booklets.

One booklet, "The New Radicals in the Multiversity" by Carl Davidson, serves

new working class against the [illegible] and oppressive conditions of production within corporate capitalism.

"If there is a single over-all purpose

than to art majors.

"DO WE WORK within the system? Of course we do. The question is not one of

newspaper, etc.)

1-D St Louis Post-Dispatch

Date: 9-4-68
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: SL 100

☐ Being Investigated

0 100-21213-21

SEARCHED.....INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....FILED.....
SEP 1 0 1968
FBI — SAINT LOUIS

NW 1652 80 Docld: 70006143 Page 59

underlying rationale—the need for grades at all—remains unchallenged.

"However, an important question for the student movement is whether or not positive radical reforms can be won within the university short of making a revolution in society as a whole. . . At present, my feeling is that these kinds of anticapitalist positive reforms are almost as hard to conceive intellectually as they are to win."

The national headquarters also serves as a kind of clearing house for information developed at local chapters as well as material from other branches of the New Left movement, a loose coalition of radical organizations and also the various black student associations. Among the most important projects carried on at local levels and distributed by the national office are power structure researches, which are efforts, at times carried off with impressive scholarship, to document a university's associations with big business and the Federal Government.

"IT IS OF the utmost importance not to limit ourselves to the campuses," Klonsky said. "Student power is meaningless on the campus. I think it's useless to have a free university in an oppressive society. We see the United States as an imperialist country. We see the war in Vietnam tied up directly with the war in Guatemala, Laos, Thailand, Bolivia. Thus, it's meaningless to be for peace in Vietnam.

"We see now, for example, that the Dow (Chemical Co.) demonstrations may have been a mistake. People thought if they could keep the Dow man away things would be all right. There were subtler issues at stake.

"We analyze the conditions in the United States as being prerevolutionary and if we continue to work we'll have to build a revolutionary party, one with students and workers coming together. We're concerned with building an organization that needs power. Right now we don't have power."

One of the problems facing SDS and other student-based radical organizations is the difficulty of keeping in touch with radicals after they are graduated or leave school. An attempt to solve one aspect of the problem was made in March with the formation of the New University Conference. At a convention attended by 350 persons in Chicago, the NUC was founded to provide an organization for radical faculty members and graduate students.

From its literature, the NUC appears to favor transforming or reforming universities rather than closing them down through revolutions and creating new schools.

"WE ARE COMMITTED to the struggle for a democratic university, one within which we may freely express the radical content of our lives, and one which will be the antagonist and not the ally of counterinsurgents, both domestic and international," a NUC brochure states.

The brochure makes it clear that the NUC advocates bringing the struggle for a "democratic university" directly into the classrooms.

The brochure says: "The frustrations and difficulties of those struggles have taught us that it is not enough to be radical downtown or in Washington. Our radicalism must extend to the campus and the classroom; to our teaching, our studies, and our writings."

Most of the radical education that occurs now at universities takes place in the many free schools or free universities that have sprung up on or near campuses throughout the country. For instructors, the free schools draw heavily upon graduate students and young faculty members, some of whom find the schools a laboratory for experimental teaching methods.

In fact, there is a wide range of subjects at many free schools. Courses this spring at the free university of the Uni-

fering seminars or classes [illegible] she thought all these courses could fit conveniently within the framework of a free school. She obtained university recognition for the school and classes now are held in university buildings.

"It's tremendously democratic," she said recently. "Someone calls up and says they want to give a course and we put it in the catalogue. The courses are very undogmatic. If they aren't, the instructor takes the risk of not having a class. A few of our courses parallel university courses and others, such as one we have in contemporary black prose, serve as a kind of shakedown for people who will teach the subject later at the university for credit."

At some places, students have been successful at getting free schools recognized by universities to the extent that certain courses are offered for credit. The most publicized and probably the most controversial example is the Experimental College at San Francisco State College, a student-run project.

One of its courses is titled, "Seminar on Guerrilla Warfare: Theory and Tactic in Contemporary America." The seminar offers no credit and is described as "an analysis of the psychology and philosophy of revolution in the Americas. The importance of political ideology. Urban warfare, logistics and weaponry, underground activities, sabotage, espionage, counterespionage." Among other things, students learn to put together Molotov cocktails. The course, the catalogue says, is given as "an educational, not an advocative, activity."

ALMOST ALL free schools offer courses that relate directly to tactics of student activists. The Free School of New York, near New York University, has a course called "Propaganda Production" that apparently is given in two sections: "I. The technical end of producing subversive literature. Basic operation of mineograph and offset process . . . II. Lettering for signs and posters. We will try to teach a few people the competence required to hand-letter on the spur of the moment, imaginative readable signs for demonstrations . . ."

The free school movement has spread to high schools. H. Bruce Franklin, a young associate professor of English at Stanford University, recalls being invited to give a seminar at the free high school of Palo Alto High School. Franklin, who considers himself a Maoist, decided to give a class on China and took along a number of copies of the red book of quotations of Mao Tse-tung to distribute.

"I was astounded to find the kids didn't want the red books," Franklin said. "They had already read the essays from which the quotations were taken."

Tomorrow: The Black Student Movement.

NW: 15289 DocId: 7000143 Page 60

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

How and Why College Students Become Radicals

SECOND OF A SERIES

By WILLIAM WOO
Of the Post-Dispatch Staff

WHEN HENRY R. NORR entered Harvard in fall 1964, he was, like many of his classmates, a young man of exceptional intelligence and promise. Norr, the son of liberal, intellectual parents—his mother is an economist, his father on the faculty of the Harvard Law School—had been graduated first in his class at Phillips Exeter Academy in New Hampshire.

By almost all traditional standards, Norr lived up to the promise by the time he was graduated from Harvard this spring. Elected to Phi Beta Kappa, selected class orator and chairman of the prestigious Harvard-Radcliffe Policy Committee, Norr had been awarded a fellowship study at Trinity College of Cambridge University.

Norr had even launched himself on one of those unconventional projects that Harvard men approvingly regard as both constructive and proper. He became a candidate for the university's Board of Overseers, the first man in Harvard's 332-year history to be graduated and declare for the board in the same year.

THE REASON that Norr, 22 years old, became a candidate, however, sets him apart from the others in the election. In his four years at Harvard, Norr had become a radical.

Norr was asked how he became a radical and he relplied that it was through a gradual process.

"Like many people I was brought up to want good grades," he said. "I worked hard. After many years of this pressure, I began to wonder about the worth of it. I began working, tutoring, in Roxbury (a low-income, Negro area) and I got increasingly involved with and disturbed by the war. I started reading a great deal. I mean, I've always read a great deal but now I began to redefine my reading around my own interests. I read a lot of histories of the Vietnamese war."

NORR HELPED organize a sign-in at Harvard, which obtained the names of about 500 undergraduates who pledged not to serve in the war. The sign-in, Norr said, was among his proudest achievements at Harvard. He was among the signers and as a result faces the possibility of going to jail. His draft board in Newton, Mass., has classified Norr 1-A, an action that forced him to resign the fellowship to Cambridge.

"For a long time I thought I would leave the country," he said. "But for the last three or four months, I have felt strongly that I would go to jail, simply because I want to be here afterward. I guess the basic point for all of us is that we can't escape America."

Norr also joined the Students for a Democratic Society, which he described as the conscience of Harvard on political and social issues. His own political opinions, he continued, would put him somewhere on the conservative fringe of SDS, which is to say that Norr believes in reforming American society rather than remaking it by revolutionary means.

"My own vision of what society should be is a kind of communitarian socialism," he said. He explained this as a system whereby the means of production are decentralized into regional and community plants and managed mainly by employes.

THE TENANTS this summer of a four-story building at 536 West 114th street in New York adjacent to Columbia University, were not its usual occupants, the brothers of Phi Epsilon Pi. A red flag, hanging from an upstairs window, and quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung on the wall by the door helped identify it as the fraternity house that the Student Strike Co-ordinating Committee had rented for its Summer Liberation School.

A visitor, stopping by the school for some information about it, was told to talk to J.J., who turned out to be a bearded, blond young man in khaki shorts and a blue work shirt. J.J. was asleep on a table in the living room. At the other end of the room, a class was discussing "symbols of domination" in literature.

The visitor awoke J.J., who agreed amiably, if sleepily, to talk about the school. He led the way out of the classroom and out to the front steps, where a small group collected to witness the interview: A girl in a madras dress and floppy yellow hat, a thin young man carrying a guitar and an attractively dressed older man, who might have been a twin of the bearded gentleman in the quinine water advertisements.

J.J. SAID his name was John Jacobs and that he was 20 years old and currently a nonstudent, having been among those arrested in the uprising at Columbia and later suspended by the school.

In a soft, almost monotonous voice, J.J. said, "After the extent of the struggle, we felt the need, one, to educate ourselves, to be able to make a better analysis, you know, historically, and, two, to continue to organize by broadening the scope of our activities."

Because there is no permanent, year-around base for radical student activities, he said, the Strike Committee, which had

Date: 9.3.68
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: STMO

☐ Being Investigated

100-21213-22
SEARCHED ... INDEXED
SERIALIZED ... FILED
SEP 1 01968
FBI — SAINT LOUIS

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 61

Why College Students Become Radicals

FROM PAGE ONE

replaced the SDS as the activists' co-ordinating group established the school. Many of the courses offered could better be described, he said, as action-oriented research projects.

He gave the visitor a pamphlet, which listed the following among the research-action projects: "Spanish-speaking Minorities in N.Y.C Development of cultural, linguistic and political skills and knowledge needed for the political work among these groups; "the University, the Military, and the Corporations; Columbia as a case study. How capitalism and its military defenders use it to perpetuate their positions. Strategies for the Fall Offensive" and "Public Schools. Control, curriculum, functions. Programs for change. Action program to organize high school students, communities, and radical teachers, neighborhood and citywide."

"THE STRUGGLE at Columbia did not reflect a concern with university reform," J. J. said. "It was a struggle against American imperialism by hitting at the university's connection with imperialism. It was a way to hit at America, which is a racist and imperialist country.

"There's no such thing as a neutral education. Its values are to maintain the system. The ruling class doesn't want the system changed. It has a vested interest in keeping things the way things are. So if they are really going to change, they're going to have to be compelled to change."

The school, he said, has attracted several hundred students and the courses are taught by about 25 students and sympathetic Columbia teachers. It is operated on funds raised through contributions and events such as parties.

The Strike Committee J.J. said, believes that the suspensions levied on dissident students by the Columbia administration were illegal.

"We don't like it and you can be sure we'll try to do something about them," he said. "We're fighting a struggle to win and we haven't won yet, so we'll be around."

IN CONSERVATIVE, dry De Kalb county, just east of Atlanta, Emory University has stood for years as an enclave of liberalism. It was a court suit brought by Emory in 1959 that desegregated higher education in Georgia and it was here, to the dismay of its more conservative alumni, that a theologian named Thomas Altizer pronounced God dead. Still it was something of a surprise to the academic community when Steve Abbott was elected president of the Emory student government this spring.

For one thing, Abbott may not be at Emory for the fall semester. This month, he goes on trial for refusing induction into the Army.

Abbott, who is 24 years old, arrived at Emory last year to begin work on a doctor's degree in English. At the time, he wore a beard, wire-rimmed glasses and sandals, and although he discarded these in the election campaign to present a more acceptable image, some students still refer to him as "our hippy student body president." Abbott finds the hippy description amusing, because he considers himself a radical, which he defines as a pragmatic anarchist.

Abbott also describes himself as a pacifist and last year he helped organize peace vigils at Emory as well as a small demonstration against recruiters for the Dow Chemical Co. He refused induction on the ground that he is a conscientious objector. Abbott's draft board in Nebraska does not consider him a conscientious objector even though, says Abbott, the Archbishop of Atlanta wrote to the board supporting his application.

"I THINK if you're going to succeed with radical ideas, you are going to have to talk to more middle class people," Abbott said recently. "Radicals talking to radicals aren't going to expand their base much."

Accordingly, Abbott directed his campaign at moderate students and ran on a platform that by radical standards was almost reactionary — a cabinet of advisers for the student body president, extension of the pass-fail grading system and the hiring of a paid draft counselor. In what may have been his most incisive move, Abbott concentrated much of his campaign on freshmen, who previously had been more or less ignored in campus politics. The freshmen rewarded Abbott's attention with 60 per cent of their votes.

Like Henry Norr, Abbott is something of a conservative radical. He believes peaceful protests are the most effective kind and he thinks students will become more aggressive in their demands for changes when they see administrators refusing to respond to clearly stated requests.

"My interests," he said, "lie more in improving the bookstore than worrying about whether the humor magazine gets funded or doing research on the power structure here. After all, if Lockheed gets kicked out, you destroy the university."

Tomorrow: SDS and the Movement.

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 62

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Confro

In the a
earning in t
what appear
very term s
some educat
that spread
schools with
in the most
rarily paraly

Among
and conserv
John H. Su
not with Go
resigned af
Ethiopia. T
Columbia U
this spring,
drive.

To som
striking wit
As Theodor
uate School
be blunt a
while some

Justly
National St
campuses in
beginning o
reflecting o
make the f
and plannin
achieving h
Columia ca
second sieg

All—a
ficult ques
content up

To mar
about a pr
in earlier,
department
academic c

As a re
risings on
cipal order

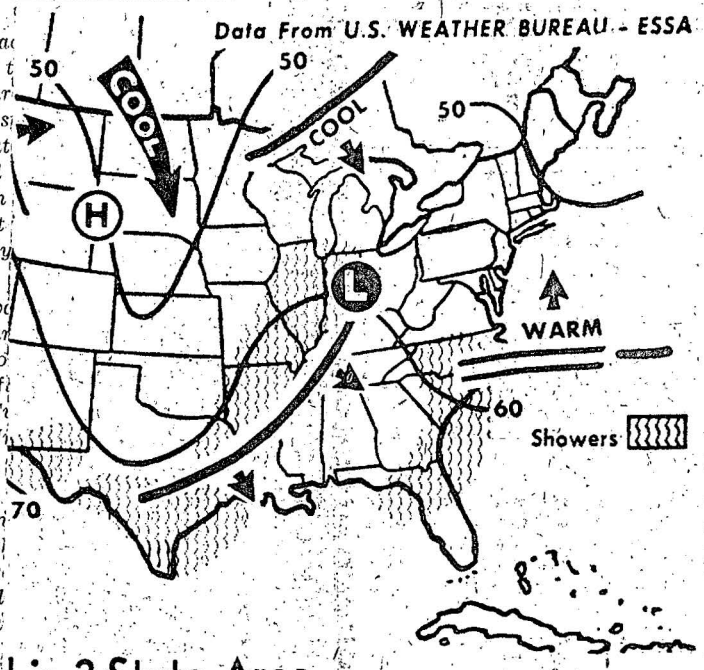
"This i
traditional
an assistan
into higher

At univ
now stand
professors.
radical stud
jority of m
the defects

Europe, nor for the military strength of the Communist counterpart Warsaw Pact forces on the east side.

Other U.S. sources estimated that perhaps 250,000 Russian soldiers have been sent into Czechoslovakia in the invasion that took place Aug. 20.

Austrian officials said the fact that fewer than 600 Czechoslovaks had requested asylum in the last 10 days indicated there would be no such massive refugee problems as that of the Hungarian uprising in 1956. More than 200,000 Hungarians fled from their country then.



d in 2-State Area

Sunny skies and pleasantly mild temperatures are expected to round out a pleasant Labor day tomorrow throughout most of Missouri and southern Illinois.

Much of the country yesterday had weather much the same as that expected tomorrow. Temperatures in the high 80x and low 90x occurred in southern California and the San Francisco area. The Southwest also reported unusually hot temperatures. Pleasantly cool weather predominated in the North.

Widespread cloudiness experienced yesterday in Missouri and southern Illinois was repeated across the country's midsection, and rain fell from central Iowa across the lower Missouri valley into Oklahoma.

WEATHER LOG

Yesterday's high, 78 at 3 p.m.; low, 63 at 5:30 a.m.

Normal maximum at airport here this date, 85; normal minimum, 62.

Precipitation this year, 19.65 inches; normal, 25.15 inches.

Sunset, 7:31 p.m.; sunrise (tomorrow), 6:30 a.m.

	High	Low	Precip.
Atlanta	80	60	.02
Boston	66	58	...
Chicago	72	65	...
Cincinnati	81	57	...
Columbia, Mo.	74	62	.58
Denver	73	45	...
Des Moines	64	61	.39
Detroit	76	50	...
Fort Worth	86	67	.08
Kansas City	66	59	.24
Little Rock	89	69	...
Los Angeles	82	65	...
Memphis	89	66	...
Miami	91	76	.33
Minneapolis	73	61	...
Montreal	69	53	...
New Orleans	86	62	...
New York	80	58	...
Portowne, Me.	72	43	.01
Philadelphia	81	53	...
Phoenix	100	75	...
Pittsburgh	77	50	...
ST. LOUIS	83	63	.17
San Francisco	77	59	...
Seattle	76	54	...
Vancouver	68	54	...
Washington, D.C.	80	55	...

PHASES OF THE MOON

Full Moon Last Qtr. New Moon 1st Qtr.
Sept. 6 Sept. 14 Sept. 22 Sept. 29

change	Hrs.
+0.2	
+0.2	
...	
+0.3	
+0.3	
+0.2	
+0.7	
+1.3	
.80	
...	
+0.1	
+0.2	
+0.1	
+0.1	
0.0	

WAT
See ne
AE
MUSIC CO
1004 OLIVE STREET
CH 1-6815

NOW W
DON'T
TO LIV
PARTLY
FURNIS
ROOMS

IT'S LI
BUYIN
NOTHING
Because w
duced. pric
in our adve
see them.
DELIVERY A
TERMS ARR
NO PAYME
FOR 45 DA
HOURS: Mon.
9 a.m. 'til 8
Tues., Wed. &
5:30 p.m. Satu
4 p.m.

Ba

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

1-A ST LOUIS POST DISPATCH

Date: 9-1-68
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: SLMO
☐ Being Investigated

100-212133

SEARCHED ... INDEXED ...
SERIALIZED ... FILED ...
SEP 1 1968
FBI — SAINT LOUIS

NW 45289 Docld:32989602 Page 2

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Confrontations Under Review

Crisis in the Colleges: Student Unrest.

By WILLIAM WOO
Of the Post-Dispatch Staff

FIRST OF A SERIES

In the academic year 1967-1968, the institutions of higher learning in the United States once again were confronted by what appeared to be an epidemic of student unrest. The very term student unrest, in fact, served appropriately for some educators to describe what to them seemed a malaise that spread rapidly from campus to campus, leaving most schools with at least a bad case of administrative jitters and, in the most virulent attacks, some great universities temporarily paralyzed.

Among administrators, its victims included both liberal and conservative presidents. At San Francisco State College, John H. Summerskill, popular with students and faculty but not with Gov. Ronald Reagan and the California Legislature, resigned after a series of disturbances and flew off to Ethiopia. Two weeks ago, Grayson Kirk, who offended both Columbia University students and teachers in the crisis there this spring, resigned, ostensibly to take command of a fund drive.

To some observers it seemed that the epidemic was striking with at least capriciousness if not outright injustice. As Theodore R. Sizer, the young dean of the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, said recently, "To be blunt about it, some third-rate universities are calm, while some first-rate institutions are being torn apart."

Justly or not, however, the epidemic had occurred—the National Student Association counted demonstrations at 180 campuses in 1967-1968—and as the summer weeks brought the beginning of school closer, administrators and professors were reflecting on the past and trying to find solutions that would make the future more peaceful. Students, too, were reflecting and planning, but not all their efforts were directed toward achieving harmony. In a rented fraternity house near the Columia campus, student activists were planning at least the second siege of Morningside Heights.

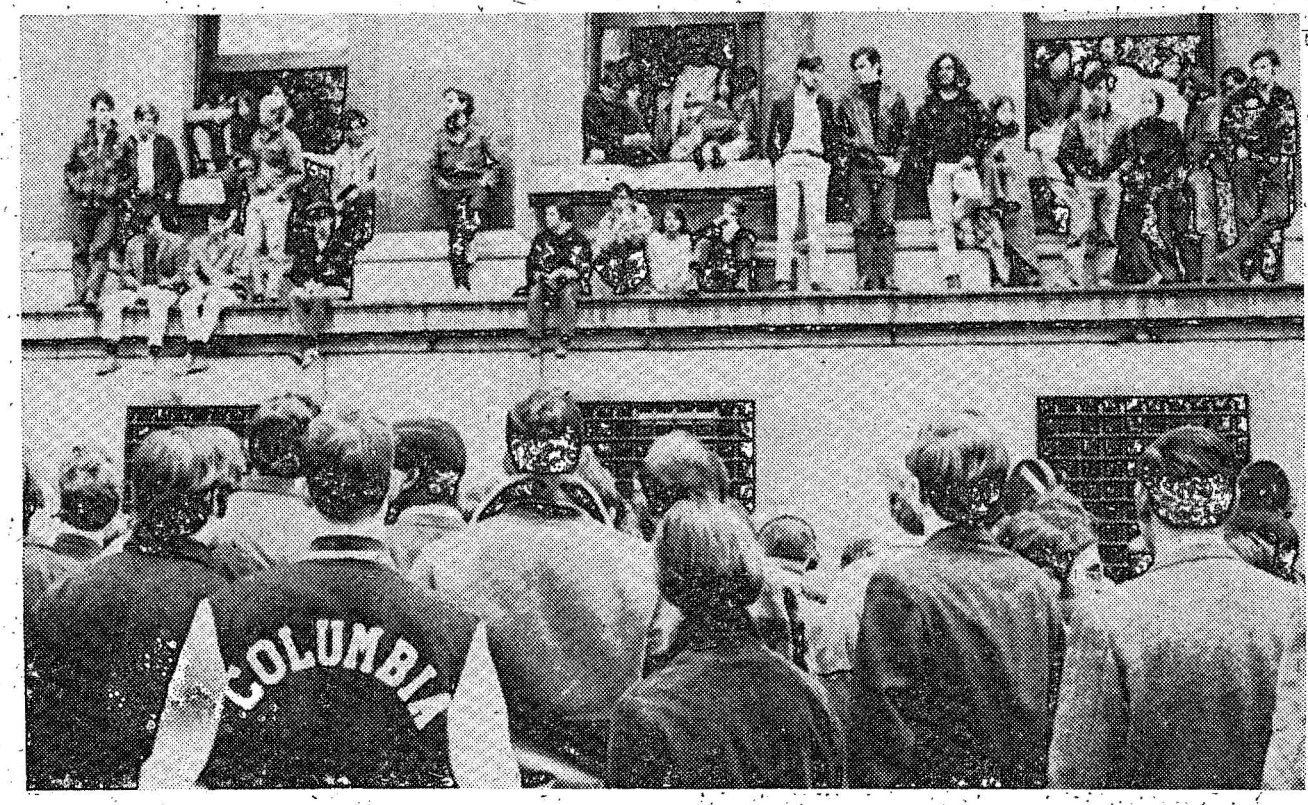
All—administrators, faculty and students—faced one difficult question: What would be the effects of student discontent upon higher education?

To many educators, there is something distinctly unsavory about a preoccupation with tactics and strategy, subjects which in earlier, more tranquil years could be consigned to the ROTC departments but rarely needed mentioning in more scholarly academic circles.

As a result of Columbia, however, and many less violent uprisings on campuses, tactics and strategy have become a principal order of business at universities.

"This is a hell of a thing for someone who cares about the traditional values of education," says Harold B. Whiteside Jr., an assistant chancellor at New York University. "I never got into higher education to figure out when you call the police."

At universities and colleges around the country, two plans now stand out among the leading concerns of administrators and professors. The first is to develop sets of tactics to deal with radical students in a manner that does not alienate the great majority of more moderate young persons. The second is to remedy the defects in education that administrators, faculty members and students perceive and that contribute to the causes of student unrest.



Demonstrators at Columbia University last April. (Associated Press Wirephoto)

In the realm of tactics, administrators at Columbia and elsewhere are having to readjust their conceptions of time and change. Radicals know how to exploit the sluggish manner by which most universities respond to provocation. Universities traditionally react through committees, which frequently spawn subcommittees. In the face of what amounted to a military action by the Columbia students, these devices were almost wholly inadequate.

"Kids read the times better than either the faculty or administration," says George Charles Keller, editor of Columbia's alumni magazine. "They react incredibly quickly to change. They will caucus and in a half-hour develop a new set of tactics and responses to new realities."

"President Kirk couldn't do this. In communicating, the faculty and kids were totally different. The faculty would meet and three hours later people would still be wondering what the faculty was up to. The kids would caucus and 20 minutes later the whole campus would be littered with mimeographed statements. Kids saw confrontation as part of mid-twentieth century life. They're absolutely right in this. The whole nature of change in the mid-twentieth century is new."

After Columbia, the American College administrator was trying hard to find a solution to the problem of developing methods of quick response that do not sacrifice deliberation.

From the dining room of the Men's Faculty Club of Columbia, the view east lies over the tenement tops of Harlem. The dreary landscape of upper Manhattan was an appropriate backdrop not long ago for the gloomy mood that prevailed at the table where a group of professors was having lunch. A round of whisky sours and martinis, far from cheering the group, seemed instead to deepen its pessimism.

These professors were among the more liberal of the faculty

TURN TO PAGE 15, COLUMN 1

No Publication Monday

The Post-Dispatch will not publish

tomorrow, Labor Day

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 64

Authorities Reviewing Causes of Student Unrest

FROM PAGE ONE

who had been sympathetic with student demands and had done their best to prevent violence. And they had discovered that as a force they were largely ineffective, an inconsequential number of characters that milled about circulating petitions and proposals as the principal actors, the student activists and the administration, played out the confrontation, scene by scene.

A Bitter Lesson

This discovery, that a faculty could be nearly irrelevant in a major crisis at the university, was among the more bitter lessons that Columbia provided.

"There is no way to convey to you the shock, the outrage, the shame, despair, hopelessness after the first bust (police intervention)," said Seymour Melman, professor of industrial engineering. "The morning after — there you saw Morgenbesser with his head shaved, Shenton with his arm in a sling. These were faculty colleagues."

Sidney Morgenbesser, a philosopher who with some other teachers had tried to stop a charge of police officers, suggested the faculty had withdrawn itself from the concerns of Columbia because the university is in New York.

"This is a town no university can dominate," he said. "It makes it easier for a faculty to retire. The burning problems can be left to someone else. In a sense, the entire city is a collection of scholars. Physicists know physicists, historians know historians, but not necessarily at Columbia."

Morgenbesser left the table to collect some signatures for a petition to end anti-Semitism in Poland, and the conversation was taken up by a young chemist named William Reinmuth.

"Until this happened, I never [illegible] a few cheera, one in which all the characters, actions, causes and consequences — hitherto seen individually on hundreds of campuses — were suddenly placed in sharp focus and packed into a few weeks that absorbed the attention of the entire country.

In a brief summary of the incident, one can identify many of the tensions that have pulled at American higher education for years.

Invasion of Building

On April 23, a group of students, led by members of the Students for a Democratic Society, attempted to present the administration with a petition demanding that Columbia sever its connections with the Institute for Defense Analysis (IDA), a consortium of 12 schools that sponsors defense research, and also stop the construction of a gymnasium that the university was putting up on leased park land in Harlem. Denied an audience with President Kirk, the students later invaded a building and held a dean hostage. Within 24 hours, four other buildings had been seized, the president's office had been captured and classes were suspended.

A group of faculty members formed a committee, which unsuccessfully tried to mediate between administration and students, whose demands had grown to include amnesty for demonstrators.

Nearly a week after the buildings were taken, 1000 policemen drove out the demonstrators. More than 700 were arrested; more than 130 were injured. Thousands of previously uncommitted students, shocked by the violence, joined in a general strike against the university. President Kirk called the first recorded meeting of the entire Columbia faculty.

175 Arrested

The student strike continued with varying effectiveness for three weeks. On May 21, four student leaders were suspended indefinitely and that afternoon 150 students occupied a building in protest. The next morning police again appeared on campus and in the second bust more than 175 persons were ar[illegible] of financial support. To the dissidents it came to symbolize faculties that had become increasingly research-oriented, the erosion of undergraduate education, the grantsmanship played by entrepreneur professors and the decline in importance of teaching skills in the eyes of administrators and department chairmen. These issues have been the concern of both students and educators for years.

Key Factor

IDA, too, assumed additional importance because of the Vietnam war. In conversations with administrators, professors and students throughout the country, the war was singled out to this reporter as the greatest contributing factor to student activism. In IDA, many students saw what to them seemed a direct link between the universities and a foreign policy based on military intervention. The assumptions and conclusions of the students are open to challenge, but they are widely held.

"In a tragic kind of way, there was a second battlefield for the Vietnamese war — the campuses," David B. Truman, vice president and provost of Columbia, said. "The university cannot survive as a battlefield. If the war continues, the universities may not survive."

The supposed alliance between university and national policy is not one perceived by students alone, it should be added. In attempting to analyze the trouble at Columbia, John R. Seeley, dean of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, made the following remarks:

"Where is the showing that Columbia — potentially more fully informed than most as to the criminality in substance and form of the war, the evils of the draft and Selective Service, and the adverse effect on education of Mr. Hershey's 'manpower channeling' — moved earnestly, actively and massively to clear its skirts, in fact and appearance, of all involvement in what many judge to be crimes against humanity?"

The activists' objection to the gymnasium grew out of their [illegible] that Columbia was [illegible] Some believe universities should be active leaders in reforming or improving society. Others, who believe as Chancellor Thomas H. Eliot of Washington University does, think that the university's greatest contributions can be made with the tools of scholarship, applied dispassionately and objectively to the great problems of community or country.

Among other things, the student rebellion at Columbia pointed out the vast gulfs that separated faculty, administration and students. Columbia is not the only university where the ideal of a collegiate community has been replaced by a kind of factionalism. The cleavages there, however, were unusually distinct and wide.

The administration, as Edward W. Barrett, who recently resigned as dean of the Columbia School of Journalism, noted, "grew increasingly out of touch and seemed, rightly or wrongly, to issue edicts and forge ahead without regard to campus and community sentiment." As for the faculty, Barrett continued, "it had, with noticeable exceptions, almost abdicated any role in campus policy and governance, concentrating instead on individual pursuits."

Poor Communication

Not surprisingly, when student activists struck for power, factions long accustomed to ignoring one another found it difficult to communicate. One effect of the strike was to get people talking again and, amid chaos and distrust and violence, the process was painful.

"The kind of latent animosity that exists in any faculty was pulled up to a more visible l[illegible]el," said Truman. "I'm ve[illegible] worried about it. A universit[illegible] has to run as a community. We've got to have the generosity of spirit and a highly visible commitment to the university. There have been some areas where people who were close friends haven't spoken to each other. It's a real tragedy. People discovered things about each other that they never should have known."

Although student radicals have been waging a kind of guerrilla warfare on campuses [illegible] objective of the radicals is a wholesale change in American society; the dismantling of Columbia was to have been their first step.

Wider Support Sought

The tactic of the Columbia radicals — and the essential tactic of radicals at other schools — was to e[illegible] from m[illegible] many of [illegible] of disco[illegible] tion. The[illegible] front th[illegible] about w[illegible] have str[illegible] its sym[illegible] the Vie[illegible] gymnas[illegible] tions of[illegible] cals ca[illegible] univers[illegible] the bo[illegible] would [illegible] lar wa[illegible] ed, th[illegible] dents' fi[illegible] al hur[illegible]

Wha[illegible] were [illegible] ever, [illegible] of th[illegible] Colu[illegible] carr[illegible] tion. [illegible] Hei[illegible] tion [illegible] gra[illegible]

Some more than others, however, have stressed the need to examine what are wrong with the structure as a whole, things that need repair. Crisis frequently accelerates the process of self-examination."

The same tensions and issues that were so visible at Columbia are being examined at many universities, some of which have not experienced severe disorders. At almost every school visited by this reporter, there were special committees studying the nature of university governance, the changing nature of a college education, the roots of student radicalism.

From these efforts, far-reaching changes probably will take place in colleges and universities. Although it may be safe to say that many of these changes would have come about anyway, the student rebellions, as Professor Grad noted, will have accelerated them.

Reflecting on its own situation, a study commission on university governance at the University of California recently posed a question that has relevance at many schools.

"Why have our institutions become so unresponsive," the commission asked, "that threat and intimidation appear to be the most effective means of causing us to examine our otherwise unexamined collective life?"

Tuesday: Three radicals.

FOR HOME
99c to 3.99
WOOD FRAMES
2.99
stain or paint
with any decor.
AR 2.99
ED ASH TRAYS
88
er ash trays in 4
ator colors.
COOL
FLORISSANT RD. OFF MARK T
Heavy vin[illegible]
colors. Fi[illegible]
54" JUM[illegible]
RE[illegible]
Electrically
in seconds
G.E. CUS[illegible]
Spe[illegible]
or exterior

W: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 65

recorded meeting of the entire Columbia faculty.

175 Arrested

The student strike continued with varying effectiveness for three weeks. On May 21, four student leaders were suspended indefinitely and that afternoon 150 students occupied a building in protest. The next morning police again appeared on campus and in the second bust more than 175 persons were arrested.

Some believe universities should be active leaders in reforming or improving society. Others, who believe as Chancellor Thomas H. Eliot of Washington University does, think that the university's greatest contributions can be made with the tools of scholarship, applied

form of the war, the evils of the draft and Selective Service, and the adverse effect on education of Mr. Hershey's 'manpower channeling' — moved earnestly, actively and massively to clear its skirts, in fact and appearance, of all involvement in what many judge to be crimes against humanity?"

The activists' objection to the gymnasium grew out of their [illegible] that Columbia was [illegible] of financial support. To the dissidents it came to symbolize faculties that had become increasingly research-oriented, the erosion of undergraduate education, the grantsmanship played by entrepreneur professors and the decline in importance of teaching skills in the

ty of spirit and a highly [illegible] commitment to the university. There have been some areas where people who were close friends haven't spoken to each other. It's a real tragedy. People discovered things about each other that they never should have known."

Although student radicals have been waging a kind of guerrilla warfare on campuses [illegible] the objective of the radicals is a wholesale change in American society; the dismantling of Columbia was to have been their first step.

Wider Support Sought

The tactic of the Columbia radicals — and the essential tactic of radicals at other schools — was to enlist support from more moderate students, many of whom harbor a degree of discontent with their education. The technique was to confront the university on issues about which many students have strong feelings: IDA, with its symbolic association with the Vietnamese war, and the gymnasium, which raised questions of racial justice. The radicals calculated that once the university was pushed beyond the bounds of patience that it would react in a highly unpopular way. When the police arrived, the number in the dissidents' camp grew from several hundred to several thousand.

What the Columbia radicals were unable to achieve, however, was the sustained support of the moderates. Having closed Columbia, they were unable to carry the new American revolution beyond Morningside Heights. Uninterested in educational reforms, they had no program for improving Columbia.

"My own feeling is that the most intense student activists are afraid of power," says Durward Long, an administrator at the University of Wisconsin who is editing a book on student activism. "They don't know what to do with power. Power means responsibility and I'm not sure that the leaders really want responsibility."

As the strike at Columbia dragged on, students who genuinely were interested in finding ways of improving education broke away from the radicals and formed their own group. These students came to be known as the reform faction.

Significant Role

Unlike the rebellion at Northwestern University this year, which grew out of the demands of Negro students, the Columbia uprising drew support from a wide cross section of students. The role of the black students at Columbia, however, was significant. There, their behavior as a group was essentially the same as it has been elsewhere.

When the buildings were first seized, one, Hamilton Hall, was held by Negroes alone. They had, in fact, asked white students to leave, explaining that whites were less disciplined. Later, when police cleared the buildings, there was no violence in Hamilton. Having reached an agreement with the administration, the black students left peacefully.

Administrators at Columbia and elsewhere point out that black students are more realistic in their demands, are more disciplined and united in their tactics and are more willing to bargain in the classic business-labor style of negotiation than are white activists. As a result, administrators have [illegible] more

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 66

(F) RACIAL INFORMANTS - SUBMISSION OF JUSTIFICATION LETTERS -- You were recently advised that justification letters for security informants should be submitted every six months instead of every four months. Effective immediately justification letters for racial informants should be submitted every six months as in the case of security informants. Currently authorized payments for four months or less will continue in effect until the expiration date thereof.

Although the period during which letters are to be submitted has been extended as a streamlining measure, your responsibility to maintain a tight control of payments and to make certain that informants will make suitable progress is in no way minimized.

Appropriate manual changes will follow.

9/10/68
SAC LETTER 68-52

(G) INVESTIGATION OF THE NEW LEFT - STUDENT AGITATION ON COLLEGE CAMPUSES -- During the past school year, violent demonstrations erupted on college campuses throughout the United States. We can expect an increase in such demonstrations during the coming school year.

SAC Letter 68-30 dated May 21, 1968, pointed out the necessity of developing adequate informant coverage of groups engaging in these disruptive activities on college campuses. You are reminded that it is your responsibility to determine in advance the plans of these groups to engage in demonstrations and other disruptive activities. Follow the instructions set out in SAC Letter 68-30 concerning the reporting of such demonstrations.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover

Director

100-212123-25
SEARCHED.....INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....FILED.....
SEP 11 1968
FBI — SAINT LOUIS

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 67

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698) 10/10/68

SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-21213)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Re SL letter to Bureau, 10/4/68, under caption SDS - IS-SDS, Bufile: 100-439048.

(1) Potential Counterintelligence Action

On 9/27/68, FRED L. ZINN, Chief of Police, Webster Groves Police Dept., Webster Groves, Mo. (NA graduate, 72nd Session), advised that he is gathering information on local SDS activities and also the activities of other new left groups in Webster Groves, with the intention of exposing subversive elements in these groups. ZINN indicated his department is closely watching Webster College, Webster Groves, Mo., for any new left activity and he would attempt to discredit, if possible, any participants of such activity.

A separate letter will be submitted to the Bureau under cointelpro caption when and if information is obtained by the SL Division which is thought to be of potential use to ZINN for the above purpose, requesting permission to release same to ZINN on a highly confidential basis.

(2) Pending Counterintelligence Action

The fact that SDS in St. Louis had announced its intention to make in-roads in local high schools was furnished by SA SPURGEON J. PETERSON (Acting Security Supervisor of the SL Office) to SAC contact GEORGE KILLENKEY, Associate Editor of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat on a highly confidential basis.

No particular high school was mentioned, however, as a result of newspaper articles (copies of which were furnished the Bureau in relet) which appeared in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, Lindbergh High School canceled speaking engagement at

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2 - Director
1 - St. Louis
MJW:jmf
(3)

Classified by 3062
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite
Classified 1/6/75

Declassified 5/31/77 per Bufile 6/14/77 jtk

100-21213-26

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
FILED

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 68

Lindbergh High School, and has resulted in countering any further attempts by SDS to infiltrate that school.

In relet it was pointed out that it is felt this same technique may work in the event SDS should try to invade other high schools in the SL area and specific Bureau authority will be requested in each instance to continue similar action if SDS should attempt to organize chapters at any other high school.

(3) Tangible Results

As was mentioned above, representatives of St. Louis SDS had an appearance at a St. Louis High School canceled as the result of the publicity afforded by the St. Louis Globe-Democrat newspaper.

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

On 9/26/68, [redacted] advised that MIC SANSONE, Webster Groves High School student expressed an interest in having SDS members speak at his school and also was attempting to reform the high school newspaper into a political paper. This information was provided COP ZINN, Webster Groves, Mo., on 9/27/68, on a confidential basis.

On 10/7/68, ZINN advised that based on information furnished, SANSONE was interviewed by Webster Groves High School administrators and a potentially active SDS organization at Webster Groves had been thwarted.

SL will remain alert to this Bureau program in order to be able to take full advantage of each opportunity that presents itself.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 69

0-9 (Rev. 5-22-64)

F B I

Date: 10/9/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via Airtel _____
(Priority)

To: SAC, Albany

From: Director, FBI (100-449698)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

ReBulets 5/10/68 and 5/23/68.

The above communications advised of the necessity of taking immediate action to expose, disrupt, and otherwise neutralize the activities of the New Left. As a part of this program, you were instructed to remain alert for and to seek specific data depicting the depraved nature and moral looseness of the New Left. You were further instructed to consider ways to use this material in a vigorous and enthusiastic approach to neutralizing them.

Despite these instructions and in the face of mounting evidence of their moral depravity, little evidence has reached the Bureau to indicate field offices are using this information to best advantage.

To make this program more effective in this regard, each office is instructed to be particularly alert for this type of data. Where a student is arrested during a demonstration or his participation in a demonstration is accompanied by the use of or engagement in an obscene display, this information is to be promptly incorporated into an anonymous letter which can be directed to his parents. Where a photograph or other evidence is available to substantiate information in the letter, it should be made a part of the mailing. You should also search for additional ways to bring the student's activities

2 - All Offices

10/10/68
+ CCO
Re-assign
O Weber

100-212153-27

PETERSON
SEARCHED ACW INDEXED
SERIALIZED ACW FILED
OCT 10 1968
FBI — SAINT LOUIS

Sent Via _____ M Per _____

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 70

to the attention of his parents. When appropriate, ways should be developed to also get this information into the hands of school authorities and the local press. In this regard you should consider giving the press anonymous advance information concerning planned activity which might be immoral or obscene in nature. Of course all mailings under this program are to receive prior Bureau authority.

It is not the objective of this letter to restrict this program to the above suggested activities. The foregoing is intended to draw your attention to one phase which can be used to our advantage in neutralizing the New Left.

As the current school year commences, it can be expected that the New Left with its antiwar and anti-draft entourage will make every effort to confront college authorities, stifle military recruiting, and frustrate the Selective Service System. Each office will be expected, therefore, to afford this program continuous effective attention in order that no opportunity will be missed to destroy this insidious movement.

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 71

10-15-68

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

AIRTEL AIRMAIL

CONFIDENTIAL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

FROM: SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-21213) P

RE: COINTEL PRO - NEW LEFT

Re SL let to Bureau, 10-8-68, SL file [redacted] captioned [redacted] Potential Confidential Source.

On 10-15-68, [redacted] (protect identity), Potential Confidential Source, advised that HERBERT MARCUSE, instructor at the University of California at San Diego, San Diego, Calif., is scheduled to speak at the Freshman Orientation Series 11-6-68, University of Missouri at Columbia, Mo. MARCUSE is reportedly author of The One Dimensional Man and a philosopher of the New Left. SL indices negative re HERBERT MARCUSE.

It is noted that in relet [redacted] was identified as a Republican member of the Missouri legislature and a trusted personal friend and associate of SA HAROLD R. DOBSON since 1951. On 10-15-68, MARSHALL stated he had read of MARCUSE in the 6-10-68 issue of U. S. News and World Report and indicated he would attempt to bring MARCUSE's controversial background to the attention of Missouri state officials and attempt to either cancel the speaking engagement or minimize its effectiveness.

CONFIDENTIAL

LEADS

100-21213-28

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED TM
INDEXED
FILED TM

SAN DIEGO DIVISION

3 - Bureau
1 - Kansas City (Info)
2 - San Diego
3 - St. Louis (1 - 100-21213)
[redacted]
(1 - 100-21218)

MJW:amb
(9)

Classified by 3067 2
Exempt from GDS, Category
Date of Declassification Indefinite
Declassified 1/6/95

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 72

AT SAN DIEGO, CALIF.

Will search indices re HERBERT MARCUSE and forward pertinent information to KC and SL, allowing time for SL to request Bureau authority if deemed advisable.

ST. LOUIS DIVISION

AT ST. LOUIS, MO.

Will review any information received from SD and with Bureau authority consider using in captioned program.

CONFIDENTIAL

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 73

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, St. Louis (100-21213) DATE: 10/18/68

FROM : Director, FBI (100-449698)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

100-19785 Weller

Reurairtel 10/4/68 captioned "Students for a Democratic Society, IS - SDS."

Authority is granted to contact Mr. George Killenberg in the event information is received that a specific high school is being targeted for organizing by the SDS. This may be done only in the event that such a contact will not jeopardize your investigation of SDS or your sources therein.

Enclosed herewith are one copy of a pamphlet entitled "Students for a Democratic Society, Front Runner of the New Left" and ten copies of a leaflet entitled "Campus or Battleground? Columbia is a Warning to All American Universities." As these publications may be of value to Mr. Killenberg in providing him with background on the SDS, you may furnish copies of this material to him at that time.

During your contact with Killenberg, you should impress upon him that the Bureau's interest in this matter is to be kept in strictest confidence.

Enclosures - 11 Bu

Bring also Mf. file

Weller

100-21213-29
SEARCHED ... INDEXED
SERIALIZED ... FILED
OCT 23 1968
FBI — ST. LOUIS
Weller

Bureau

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 74

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-21213) DATE: 10-25-68

FROM : SA MARTIN JOHN WEBER

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT CONFIDENTIAL

REBULET, 10-18-68.

On 10-24-68, one copy each of "STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY, FRONT RUNNER OF THE NEW LEFT" and "CAMPUS OR BATTLEFIELD? COLUMBIA IS A WARNING TO ALL AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES," were provided to GEORGE KILLENBERG, Associate Editor, GLOBE DEMOCRAT, SLMO. KILLENBERG was advised of the Bureau's interest in this matter and stated this matter will be kept in the strictest confidence.

The remaining 9 copies of the latter leaflet are being designated for the file.

put in 1A section

MJW:wma
(1)

Classified by 3047
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite
Classified 1/6/75

CONFIDENTIAL

100-21213-30
SEARCHED..... INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED..... FILED.....
OCT 25 1968
FBI — SAINT LOUIS

Weber

NW: 15289 Docld: 70001143 Page 75

5010-108

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

FD-340a (Rev. 6-12-63)

(Title) COINTELPRO - NEW LFT
IS
(File No.) 100-21213

1. Copies of "Campus or Battlefield? Columbia is a Warning to all American Universities." 11-4-68
2. Reprints of article appearing in "The Reader's Digest." 1/13/69
3. Xerox copy of Vol 1 #4 of St Louis Free Press 8-21-69
4. Proposed letter to Israel 1-30-70

Disposition:

100-21213-19

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
NOV 4 1968
FBI — ST. LOUIS

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 76

FD-340 (REV. 6-24-65)

File No. 100-21213-1A1

Date Received 10-19-68

From Bureau
(NAME OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(ADDRESS OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(CITY AND STATE)

By Mail
(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)

To Be Returned ☐ Yes ☒ No

Receipt given ☐ Yes ☐ No

Description:

9 copies of "Campus or Battlefield? Columbia is a Warning to All American Universities."

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 77

Campus or Battleground?

Columbia Is a Warning to All American Universities

This lead article from the May 20 issue of BARRON'S, was written by Robert Hessen, a young instructor in Columbia University's Graduate School of Business, and candidate for a doctorate in the Department of History.

It is being reprinted in the form of an advertisement by Dow Jones & Company, publishers of Barron's, in the interests of the wide audience the subject commands.

A LARGER-than-life portrait of Karl Marx dominated the entrance of a classroom building; a red flag flew from its rooftop. Chains barred the doors of other buildings, and chanting mobs roamed across the campus. The scene might have been the University of Havana or Peking. It wasn't. It took place just a few express stops from Wall Street, at Columbia University, where, from April 23-30, student leftists seized and occupied five university buildings.

The siege tactics which disrupted Columbia and brought its normal activities to a halt represent the latest assault by a revolutionary movement which aims to seize first the universities and then the industries of America. The rebels are members of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), a nationwide organization with chapters on over 250 campuses (Barron's, November 15, 1965, and March 11, 1968).

* * *

Originally, when SDS began as an outgrowth of the socialist League for Industrial Democracy, it repudiated communism as an authoritarian system and excluded communists from its membership. However, in 1964-65, SDS sought to broaden its power base by forming a united front with communist youth groups. Although SDS continued to describe its objectives in such murky phrases as "participatory democracy," the real tenor of its philosophy can best be seen in its intellectual heroes, Marx and Mao; in its action hero, Che Guevara; and in the slogans scrawled across the embattled campus.

They admit that their campaign was a failure, which they ascribe to student and faculty apathy, and to the administration's refusal to hear and to heed their policy recommendations.

SDS rebels then resorted to their ultimate political weapon: the initiation of physical force, believing that they had a moral right to do so because they were "acting in a good cause." In the past, they had released many trial balloons to test this technique: they had obstructed N.R.O.T.C. graduation ceremonies; they had staged sit-ins in the offices of university administrators; and they had prevented recruiters for business firms and the C.I.A. from interviewing on campus. In each case, the consequence had been a polite rap on the knuckles, a verbal reprimand devoid of significant penalties such as expulsion or criminal prosecution.

On April 23, after trying to block construction at the gym site, SDS demonstrators and their militant Negro allies, members of the Student Afro-American Society, returned to campus. At the urging of their leaders, they marched on Hamilton Hall, the main classroom building of Columbia College. They were determined to barricade themselves in until the university met their demands. An unexpected fissure occurred within the ranks of the rebels who claimed to be united in their opposition to racism: the Negro militants ordered the whites to get out, and SDS complied. SDS then proceeded to capture a base of

The faculty mediators labored under the belief that the rebels would be willing to negotiate for a peaceful solution to the mounting crisis. What they discovered, however, was that every concession made by the administration only produced escalated rebel demands. SDS' ultimate demand was that they be granted total amnesty as a pre-condition for negotiation.

It grew increasingly obvious that the rebels would not withdraw from the buildings until forced out by the police. They wanted blood to be shed, so that they could raise the cry of "police brutality," acquire the aura of martyrdom, and thereby win the majority of students and faculty to their side. Regrettably, President Kirk played right into their hands, by waiting until the sixth day of siege before calling in the police. The only other alternative open to him at that point would have been total capitulation, a final act of

ends. As befits socialists, they regard the university as just another natural resource awaiting their expropriation.

But the long-range objective of SDS is even more sinister. As a sympathetic article in The New Republic (May 11, 1968) states: "The point of the game was power. And in the broadest sense, to the most radical members of the SDS Steering Committee, Columbia itself was not the issue. It was revolution, and if it could be shown that a great university could literally be taken over in a matter of days by a well-organized group of students, then no university was secure. Everywhere the purpose was to destroy institutions of the American Establishment, in the hope that out of the chaos a better America would emerge."

* * *

The rebels have no patience for any slow process of change. They are tired of [illegible] they want "so-

true only in the narrow sense that they did not shed blood. But force was inextricably involved in every act that they perpetrated. They held the Associate Dean as hostage against his will—that was force. They barricaded faculty and students from their offices and classrooms—that was force. They seized property which was not rightfully theirs and refused to release it until their demands were met—that was force. Each of these is punished as an act of force under the civil laws of our society. They are the crimes known as false imprisonment, criminal trespass and extortion.

If these acts were perpetrated by a lone individual, their criminal character would be obvious. If a single felon had held the dean hostage, or seized the office of President Kirk, rifled his desk and copied his files, no one would have confused him with an idealistic, "committed" crusader. On an in-

whether the initials of the aggressors are KKK or SDS.

3) The rebels claim they were justified in using force because the administration had refused to give them a hearing on their demands for change. A university, like a well-run business, should be interested in knowing whether it is satisfying its customers. If it provides students with incompetent faculty, or poor laboratories or libraries, or supports political policies which they oppose, it is in the university's self-interest to maintain open channels of communication so that grievances can be expressed and remedial actions considered. Students who are dissatisfied with any aspect of a university's policies have a right to peacefully protest and petition, and even, in extreme situations, to boycott classes or organize a student strike. But they have no right to compel anyone to listen to their demands, nor a right to force other people to go on strike with them by prohibiting access to classes or by creating a general climate of terror to intimidate those who would oppose them.

4) The rebels claim that since force is justified when peaceful tactics fail, they should be granted full amnesty. The single best

7) Rebels should not be criminally prosecuted. After all, they are students, not criminals. One need only remember that it was Nazi students who set fire to university libraries and terrorized professors. Being a student does not grant one an exemption from the laws which prohibit attacks on human life and property. The rebels acted like criminals and should be punished as such.

8) It is impractical to suspend or expel the student rebels because there are so many of them. This amounts to saying that if a sufficiently large mob breaks the law or violates individual right, it will be immune from punishment. If this principle is accepted, then every lawbreaker will be safe from prosecution if he can find enough members for his gang. This will provide the leader with an absolutely irresistible recruitment device, and invite the outbreak of a reign of terror.

9) Admittedly the rebels violated property rights, but calling in the police could result in injury or loss of life, which is more important than loss of property. This argument amounts to saying that the lives of aggressors are more important than the property of victims. In action, this would mean that the police should not restrain

NW: 13289 Docld: 70001143 Page 78

tled Columbia campus—"Lenin won, Castro won, and we will win, too!"

SDS' hard-core membership at Columbia is fewer than 200 out of 17,800 students. But after it seized campus buildings, barred faculty and students from their offices and classrooms, and held a dean as hostage, its ranks were swelled by several hundred sympathizers, including many outsiders. SDS launched its assault on Columbia after failing peacefully to attain two of its political objectives on campus:

1) The severing of Columbia's connection with the Institute for Defense Analyses, a government-sponsored consortium which performs research and analysis relating to national defense and domestic riot control. SDS complained that Columbia's affiliation was aiding America's "imperialist aggression" in Vietnam, while at home I.D.A.'s studies in riot control were designed to suppress demonstrations by anti-war groups.

2) A halt to the construction of a new gymnasium in Morningside Park, which adjoins Harlem, on land leased to Columbia by the City of New York.

SDS claimed that Columbia was guilty of "institutional racism," that the university was poaching upon the territory of the adjacent Negro community, and that the separate entrance for the part of the gym set aside for use by the neighborhood children constituted "Gym Crow."

In fact, the Columbia gymnasium had been warmly endorsed by over 40 Harlem community groups when it was announced eight years ago. It would occupy only two of the 30 acres in Morningside Park. Its presence would create an atmosphere of safety in an area which is now the territory of muggers and addicts. Separate entrances would be necessary because Columbia students would enter from the Heights on which the university is located, while Harlem residents would more conveniently reach the gym through the park which lies some 200 feet below. The issue is not one of bigotry but of geography.

SDS spokesmen claimed, truthfully, that they had sought to arouse the Columbia community into opposing the gym and the I.D.A. links.

operation of its own. The rebels first seized the administrative offices of President Grayson Kirk in Low Library, and later three more classroom buildings.

Most students reacted with bewilderment and outrage. They demanded to know why the campus police had not been called in, and why the rebels were allowed to receive reinforcements of manpower and food. They witnessed caravans of litter-bearers marching across campus with cartons of supplies, as if their destination were a country picnic. Many students also wondered why the administration had not ordered the cutting off of electricity, water and telephones inside the buildings held by the rebels, since it was known that they were making Xerox copies of President Kirk's letter files and formulating strategy with outside allies by phone.

The administration's failure to take prompt action evidently sprang from a number of motives: fear of bad publicity; uncertainty about the morality of using the police to uphold law and order; reluctance to make a decision which might prove unpopular with some of the faculty, students or alumni; anxiety that members of the Harlem community might march on Columbia if police were used to clear the buildings; and the delusion that if they took no punitive action, the rebels would recognize them as men of good will. An SDS leader later admitted that if President Kirk had responded within the first hour, or even the first day, by sending in the university's own security police, the rebels would have "folded like a house of cards." By its inaction, the administration gave the rebels time to organize their resistance, bolster their morale and mobilize sympathizers and supplies from the outside.

* * *

Members of the senior faculty attempted to mediate between the administration and the rebels. But their efforts were futile, since they were faced with an impossible assignment: to divise a peace formula ambiguous enough to satisfy both sides—which meant that the terms of settlement had to both promise and refuse amnesty for the rebels.

appeasement which would have served as an engraved invitation to renewed rebel demands in the future. The proper time to have acted against the rebels was at the outset of the siege, when a few dozen campus security officers could have achieved what it later took nearly 1,000 city police to do, at a price of over 100 injured rebels, spectators and policemen.

The aftermath of calling in the police was an upsurge of sympathy for the rebels. Their allies on campus called for a general strike by students and faculty to protest the use of police and to demand the ouster of President Kirk for having called them in. One mark of the effectiveness of this strike is that Columbia College, the undergraduate division of the university, voted to end all classes for the rest of the semester, which was scheduled to run another month. The strikers also won support from those who disapproved of both the tactics and objectives of SDS, but who wished to take advantage of the strike to bring about what is cryptically described as "restructuring of the university."

Even those most sympathetic to SDS, however, do not deny that the issues of I.D.A. and the gym were merely pretexts to justify the resort to force. SDS' short-range objective is to achieve "student power," which means total control over the university. They seek student veto power over appointment and tenure of faculty, admission of new students, courses offered by the university, degree requirements and the disposition of university funds. They propose to "radicalize the faculty," which means to purge it of conservatives and of law-and-order liberals who oppose the initiation of force to achieve political

tion now." They will tolerate no opposition. They are indifferent to the fact that their tactics will destroy Columbia University by driving out the best minds, just as Nazi terror tactics drove the Jewish intellectuals out of the universities of Germany. But there is a crucial difference now. While men like Einstein could escape to England or America during the 'Thirties, SDS will try to close all avenues of escape. The use of intimidation and force will spread until there will be no sanctuary for men of reason within the academic world, or, ultimately, within the nation. One need only consider the fate of conservatives and liberals alike in countries which have been overrun by SDS' intellectual mentors: Mao's China and Castro's Cuba.

Since SDS tactics have succeeded in crippling a great university, the next targets can be City Hall, the State Capitol, or even the White House. If this prediction seems alarmist, consider the fact that SDS sympathizers known as "Yippies" already have announced plans to intimidate and disrupt the Democratic National Convention in Chicago this summer, in order to extract concessions on platform and candidates.

Whatever the final outcome of the Columbia strike, one thing is certain: the methods used at Columbia will be embraced by other student leftists on campuses throughout the country. Those who resort to force will justify their tactics by the same arguments advanced by the Columbia rebels and their apologists. If this national menace is to be checked, it is imperative that one know how to answer them.

1) Some rebels claim that none of their tactics involved the use of force. This was

dividual basis, if someone demands that you grant him wealth or power that he has not earned and which he can only obtain by threats of violence, one does not doubt for a moment that he is an extortionist. The act of a lone thug does not become legitimatized when he teams up with other hoodlums. As Ayn Rand noted in "Capitalism: the Unknown Ideal," no individual can acquire rights by joining a gang. "Rights are not a matter of numbers—and there can be no such thing, in law or in morality, as actions forbidden to an individual, but permitted to a mob."

* * *

2) Other rebels admit that they used force, but claim that force is justified when peaceful tactics fail. The fundamental political principle that all men must respect is that no individual or group may initiate the use of force for any purpose whatsoever. To accept SDS' alternative amounts to carte blanche for violence, and invites the complete breakdown of the rule of law.

To understand the grotesque irrationality of SDS' argument, consider the following. Imagine that there were a student chapter at Columbia of the Ku Klux Klan, which was protesting the proposed use of the new gym by Negroes. They tried, through campus rallies and petitions, to arouse the students, faculty and administration to support their demands, but their peaceful tactics failed. If this group then proceeded to seize university buildings and hold members of the administration as hostages, would anyone have condoned their use of force, or have called for negotiations and compromise? The principle is the same: the initiation of force to achieve one's political objectives is both immoral and illegal, regardless of

answer to this argument is provided by Professor Leonard Peikoff in his forthcoming book, "Nazism and Contemporary America: the Ominous Parallels," who says: "The demand for amnesty on principle is the demand for the abdication on principle of legal authority; it is a demand for the formal sanction in advance of all future acts of force and violence, for the promise that such acts may be perpetrated hereafter with impunity. It is a demand to institutionalize the appeasement of brute force as a principle of civil policy in this county."

5) The rebels claim that police represent violence, and therefore should not be used on a college campus which is a citadel of reason and persuasion. Here the rebels evade the fact that they were the ones who first resorted to violence. They obliterate the distinction between criminals who initiate the use of force and the police whose function it is to retaliate with force to restore peace and to protect the rights of the victims.

* * *

6) The rebels claim that their quarrel with the administration was purely an internal dispute, hence the introduction of police represents meddlesome interference by outsiders. By the same reasoning, one could just as well conclude that if workers seize a factory, customers seize a store, or tenants seize an apartment building, these, too, are internal matters and do not justify calling in the police. In reason there can be no such concept as an "internal dispute" which allows someone to be victimized and prevented from calling the police. Those who violate property rights are scarcely in a position to claim that their conquered territory is "private property" upon which police may not enter.

stores, or interfere with the KKK when it uses firebombs on Negro churches. On this principle, any victim of theft or expropriation would be advised to surrender his property—his wallet or warehouse—without resistance, lest the thief be hurt in the struggle. Acceptance of this principle would make every individual the defenseless target for any vandal or socialist.

* * *

The Columbia crisis vitally affects the life of every American. No one's life or property can be secure in a society which tolerates the use of force by any group to achieve its goals. And no one will be safe as long as college and civil authorities persist in their policy of answering aggression with appeasement.

Now is the time for intelligent counter-action. One means is to withhold financial support from colleges which condone or compromise with student terror tactics. A second is to write to the president and trustees of colleges urging that they endorse the following position: that their institution offers no sanctuary to any group which advocates the initiation of physical force, and that they will act immediately and without hesitation to expel and criminally prosecute any student guilty of such tactics.

Men need to live by the guidance of rational principles and to resolve their disagreements peacefully. It is both immoral and impractical to abandon principles in a time of crisis, and then hope to survive on the basis of pragmatic expediency and cowardly compromise. Each time that a violation of individual rights is tolerated, it serves as an invitation for future violations. A free society cannot survive unless men of reason rally to its defense.

For additional reprints of this article write to: Robert M. Bleiberg, Editor, BARRON'S, 30 Broad Street, New York City 10004

BARRON'S
National Business and Financial Weekly

© 1968 Dow Jones & Company, Inc.

FD-340 (REV. 6-24-65)

File No. 100-21213-1A2

Date Received 11/16/68

From Bureau
(NAME OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(ADDRESS OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(CITY AND STATE)

By Mail
(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)

To Be Returned ☐ Yes ☒ No

Receipt given ☐ Yes ☐ No

Description:

Reprints of article appearing in "The Reader's Digest."

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 80

ing from complete amnesty for Rudd and others to stopping construction on a nearby gym bordering Harlem. The next day, an SDS raiding party smashed into and occupied Low Library; later three other university buildings were seized. Raiders broke into the university president's office, filched his files, handed out copies of his personal correspondence. They set up a "war room" in one building and coordinated activity through a network of 40 walkie-talkies, telephones and runners.

Shut out of their classes, other students were outraged. They formed a "Majority Coalition," swiftly marshaled 2000 signatures demanding that the university president take "firm action." Said Coalition spokesman Paul Vilardi: "Students do have some reasonable complaints, but what SDS is doing to Columbia is like slitting your wife's throat because she eats crackers in bed."

But President Grayson Kirk vacillated. He suspended gym construction, and reportedly promised to end military research, even to tender his own resignation "for reasons of health." So 400 anti-protesters, wearing coats and ties as their own badge of protest, formed a human wall around Low Library offices to stop food and messengers. The radicals tried to storm through, swinging fists, but the blockaders held. Finally, with the radicals rumored to be arming themselves with pipes, staves and bricks, Kirk sent the Majority Coalition home and asked police to clear the buildings.

At Low Library, 500 students and faculty blocked the way; at Fayerweather Hall, another 125. They screamed "Police brutality!" into grinding television cameras as police formed a standard riot wedge and charged, bloodying noses and heads. Police arrested 707—26 percent not on Columbia student rolls.

"This cop violence is good!" said Rudd. "We're going to get a lot of help." Grabbing the police-intervention issue, SDSers inveigled many former critics into joining a campus-wide strike. The Columbia faculty gave in and canceled formal classes for the rest of the school year.

But that was not the end of the Columbia tragedy. Four weeks later Rudd and his followers marched into Hamilton again. Campus gates were barricaded, and, following a peaceful arrest, fires were set in Fayerweather, and bricks were hurled at police. Someone even broke into the office of a professor who had condemned extremism, and there burned his manuscript and notes representing ten years of research.

Time to Get Tough. The sad lesson of Columbia was stated by New York *Times* education writer Fred M. Hechinger: "Any society, academic or otherwise, that lacks the will to defend itself against illegitimate disruption and takeover is crippled and, as a free society, may be doomed."

Indeed, the lessons must now be clear to all:

1. Students and faculty must support prompt action to maintain campus peace. At Brooklyn College, when SDSers seized the registrar's office, other students condemned the disrupters as "today's version of Hitler's storm troopers," demanded "strict enforcement of the law"—and got it. College authorities summarily expelled the rebels, police carted them off, and peace returned to Brooklyn College.

2. College administrators must not appease or temporize with totalitarian minorities using coercion and anti-democratic tactics. Although the intervention of civic police was abhorrent to all, both students and administrators at Columbia admit that firm action taken against the first few hundred Hamilton Hall sit-ins would have avoided the escalation of protest to a university-wide strike. Before Columbia's troubles were over, 5000 students were involved, a serious clash with police had occurred, and the entire school had suffered an inestimable loss of prestige.

3. We must all support basic university reforms that *are* needed. Inevitably, a "knowledge factory" atmosphere has developed from the campus population explosion, with accompanying depersonalization and frustration. Educators must pay far more attention to the individual student and to legitimate, orderly expression of grievances.

Talking to educators and students around the country, I find a hopeful, growing determination that responsible, forceful action by the democratic majority can demolish the SDS "imperialist conspiracy" syndrome. "Students are usually idealists and in fact come to college to seek a better world by getting the best possible education," Columbia junior Jonathan Edelstein said to me. "But if we let a dictatorial extremist minority who think they have already found all the answers rob us of that opportunity, we will lose the future."

THE NOVEMBER Reader's Digest will carry an article exploring some of the causes of student dissatisfaction today and the reasons why even nonradical students often lend their support to the current rebellion.

Reprints of this article are available. Prices, postpaid to one address: 10—50¢; 50—$2; 100—$3.50; 500—$12.50.
Address Reprint Editor, The Reader's Digest, Pleasantville, N.Y. 10570

REPRINTED FROM THE OCTOBER 1968 ISSUE OF THE READER'S DIGEST
©1968 THE READER'S DIGEST ASSOCIATION, INC., PLEASANTVILLE, N.Y. 10570 PRINTED IN U.S.A.

A Reader's Digest REPRINT

SDS: Engineers of Campus Chaos

A small but highly active band of college students, calling themselves Students for a Democratic Society, are doing everything they can to dispense with both democracy and society

BY EUGENE H. METHVIN

DURING the past year, college campuses across the United States from Columbia to Stanford exploded with violence, bloodshed and arson. In the thick of this disruption was an organization of self-proclaimed radicals called the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).

This fall, as classes resume, educators and police who once shrugged off SDS as just another band of youthful rebels are bracing for more trouble. To see why, look at a sampling of SDS's recent record. At the University of Wisconsin last fall, 70 persons were injured after an SDS-organized riot against Dow Chemical Co. recruiters. At the University of Georgia, SDS-led demonstrators occupied the administration building, demanding that women students be allowed to drink and stay out all night. At San Francisco State, they launched a rampage of looting, brawling and attempted arson of a campus bookstore, all in the name of defending four hoodlums who had beaten up the editor of the student newspaper. At the University of California in Berkeley, they deployed radio-directed students as shock troops, erected barricades and fought pitched battles with police in an assault on the Oakland Induction Center.

New York University philosophy professor Sidney Hook sums it up:

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 81

"By their lawless actions, the members of SDS threaten to become the true grave diggers of academic freedom in the United States."

Salable Line. SDS was activated in June 1962 by a gathering of 59 collegians at Port Huron, Mich. The organization's first manifesto was the "Port Huron Statement," a 30,000-word mildly Marxist economic critique of America. In it, the members were, in one SDSer's words, "naming the enemy and then saying how to get him."

This has proved a most salable line among the new collegiate generation. In just 14 years, America's college population has skyrocketed from 2,600,000 to seven million. Typically, at Cornell the biggest freshman and sophomore classes fell to green teaching assistants with an average age of 26; at Berkeley, 900 graduate assistants carried the instruction load in the first two years, and classes often bloated to 1500. Thousands of students arrived on campus expecting close and intellectually enriching contact with wise professors, and instead crashed up against the increasing impersonality, the anonymity and regimented demands of today's mass universities.

Some among them began looking for a scapegoat. Yale psychologist Kenneth Keniston calls the activists a tiny minority with a "protest-prone personality." Prof. Lewis Feuer, who quit Berkeley in disgust after campus turmoil there, finds them "possessed by a terrible, compulsive irrationality that corrupted their idealism." Another critic diagnosed this significant and talented minority as "super-idealists, unhappy because America fails to live up to its textbook image, upset because life is different from dreams."

Bored with the prospect of ordinary careers in the affluent "post-industrial" technocracy, many of these students began cranking SDS mimeographs, walking picket lines and attending SDS rallies. By mid-1968, SDS claimed to have 6300 dues-paying members with another 35,000 unregistered participants in 250 chapters, all under the direction of SDS headquarters in a shabby two-room flat on Chicago's West Madison Street.

Miniskirts and Manuals. The student who walks into an SDS meeting today hears Marxist rhetoric often virtually indistinguishable from Radio Moscow's worst Stalinist paranoia. SDS organizers denounce "oppressors," "exploiters," and the "Al Capones who run this country." The university is a "colony" of "the military-industrial complex." Members refer openly to themselves as "professional revolutionaries" whose careers are "committed to the destruction of imperialism and capitalism." SDS National Secretary Greg Calvert boasted to a New York *Times* reporter: "We're working to build a guerrilla force in an urban environment. We're actively organizing sedition."

Thus today's recruits, and those of those who have swallowed the SDS hook are attracted by

big issues such as slum poverty, civil rights and the Vietnam war. But SDS strategy also calls for pouncing on *any issue* that will excite students. At Princeton it was letting girls in the dormitories, at the University of Texas the presence of a Confederate flag, at San Francisco State a food-price protest and demand to take over the cafeteria and bookstore, at the University of Chicago a controversy over draft-deferment exams and class rankings.

"Every attempt should be made to connect campus issues with off-campus questions," advises former SDS Vice President Carl Davidson. "In the high schools, raise demands to wear long hair and miniskirts, and then politicalize them," prescribes a California SDSer. At Wisconsin, another reports, "We organized dormitory students around rules, and then it was easy to move them on such issues as the university's relation to Chase Manhattan Bank."

Specific suggestions for throwing monkey wrenches into the machinery of society include such tactics as: picking public fights with welfare workers; starting trash-can fires and pulling fire alarms in high schools as "forms of protest"; making appointments by the score with university deans and registrars—to "overuse the bureaucracy"; checking out an inordinate number of books to disrupt libraries and study programs; disrupting draft boards by registering under a false name so "federal agents will spend much time attempting to track down people who do not exist." Such tactics are far more than youthful pranks. Their ultimate goal is nothing less than the destruction of society itself.

How Pink? Though the SDS has an image of independent radicalism, mounting evidence indicates it is not as much a "New Left" as it would have press and public believe. For instance:

• Communists have sat in on SDS meetings and coached organizers from the start. In turn, SDS leaders have been welcomed at secret communist conventions.

• The 1965 SDS convention repealed a constitutional stipulation barring communists from membership. Subsequently, Communist Party leaders quietly told members they "could work through SDS." Soon a Progressive Labor Party group sympathetic to the Red Chinese moved into SDS. Today the Maoist, Stalinist and Trotskyite Communist Parties abound at SDS conventions and control some SDS chapters.

• SDSers maintain contacts with communist nations through frequent foreign travels. Tom Hayden, an SDS founder and its tactical chieftain, visited Hanoi in 1965 with top U.S. Red strategist Herbert Aptheker. He has also sojourned in Moscow, Peking and Havana. In September 1967, ten SDSers journeyed to Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, for a week-long ultra-secret powwow with Vietcong and North Vietnamese representatives. Other leaders went to Havana for Castro's

International Cultural Congress last January.

• A strong communist flavor was vividly apparent at SDS's national convention in East Lansing, Mich., last June. Moved by the romantic image of Castro, delegates spouted the maxims of Che Guevara and paraded in khakis. Of the three national officers chosen, only one failed to proclaim himself a communist. Before her unanimous election as inter-organizational secretary, non-student Bernadine Dohrn, 26, was asked if she was a "socialist." Her reply: "I consider myself a revolutionary communist." At that, the audience of 500 rose in cheers.

The SDSers marched the red flag of communist revolution and the black flag of anarchy to the dais of their convention hall. Without a ripple of dissent, speaker after speaker espoused the dogma that American society must be destroyed by constant disruption now and revolutionary "armed struggle" when the time is ripe. "The ability to manipulate people through violence and mass media has never been greater, the potential for us as radicals never more exciting, than now," one speaker proclaimed. Behind the scenes, FBI intelligence has revealed, a secret workshop in "sabotage and explosives" dealt with what type of bomb best destroys communications and how to fire Molotov cocktails from shotguns.

Yet it would be a mistake simply to identify all SDS members as Moscow or Peking communists. Indeed, many are actively anti-Kremlin and non-communist. Their common bond "is a passionate desire to destroy, to annihilate, to tear down," says FBI director J. Edgar Hoover. "To put it bluntly, they are a new type of subversive, and their danger is great."

To understand *how* dangerous, look at the SDS in action at the most explosive of the recent disorders—the upheaval at Columbia.

Revolt at Columbia. Late last year, 300 delegates to the SDS National Council at Bloomington, Ind., decided to launch a national campaign they dubbed "Ten days to shake the empire." Secret caucuses picked Columbia for a "beacon" demonstration whose flare would spark a nationwide conflagration.

Field general for the insurrection was junior Mark Rudd, who had been named Columbia SDS chapter chairman after returning from a January tour in Cuba. On March 27, he led a hundred followers into Low Library, Columbia's large-domed administrative center, and demanded that the university end its sponsorship of a defense research institute. Ordered to appear for disciplinary action, Rudd announced that a new march would be made into Low Library on April 23. Blocked by 200 anti-SDS students on that date, he and his followers stormed into Hamilton Hall, Columbia's main undergraduate classroom center. There they imprisoned Dean Henry Coleman and two aides for 25 hours and unveiled a list of "demands," rang-

NW 55289 Docket: 70001143 Page 82

FD-340 (REV. 6-24-65)

File No. 100-New 21213-1A3

Date Received 7/5/68

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

(CITY AND STATE)

By D.J. Gutierrez
(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)

To Be Returned ☑ Yes ☐ No

Receipt given ☐ Yes ☐ No

Description:

Xerox Copy of
Vol 1 - #4 of St Louis
Free Press -

COPYRIGHT 1968
JUNE 28 - JULY 11
VOL 1, NO 4

1 of 12
6-26-68
Exhibit Item
3:30 pm

25¢

ST. LOUIS FREE PRESS

more official violence

Lyon Herbert, 21, a black freedom fighter from East St. Louis, was killed in a gunfight with Chicago police June 5. A companion, Charles Childress, was brutally beaten and Raymond Sharp is in the Cook County jail.

Lyon Herbert is dead, Charles Childress brutally beaten--the result of the increasing frustration of black men. The East St. Louis police and the city council are responsible for this frustration and thus, for the violence. The council, by refusing to allow a police civilian review board to function, has left black men no recourse from police violence. And the police, by practicing this violence, have made black men unwilling to face police justice alive. So they fight. Often they die.

An example: what man, after realizing that Charles Childress had been beaten beyond recognition, would surrender himself to the cops, perhaps to be similarily beaten? What man, realizing that "American justice" does not apply to him, that racist americans have been so prejudiced against the black liberation struggle that any justice becomes impossible, would submit himself alive for its judgement?

CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO

NW: 15289 DocId: 7000143 Page 84

WASHINGTON IS SAIGON

RESURRECTION CITY PACIFIED : POPULACE RELOCATED

by Marshall Law

WASHINGTON, D.C., Monday, June 24, (LNS)--By 11 a.m. today the streets and homes of Resurrection City were deserted except for patrolling military jeeps and hundreds of police guards stationed at the fence of the city's perimeter. Flies were beginning to swarm on the fresh, hot bread left out in the haste of evacuation. No troops would touch it, though, lest the native food give them dysentery.

The urban renewal tactic practiced in evacuating and burning cities in Vietnam was brought back home. Instead of a transfered leaflet dropped from an airplane, the government made this loudspeaker announcement at 9:45 a.m.: "The permit on this property has expired. You must leave here within the next 56 minutes to avoid arrest and prosecution. For those of you who have no other means of transportation, bus service to your homes will be provided by Travelers Aid. Shuttle buses are now available at the west side of the reflecting pool."

Later this week, the tactic will be carried to fruition; the city will be quietly bulldozed and burned.

But the face saving devices which our military says are crucial to oriental psyches were not forgotten; Ralph David Abernathy had miraculously led most of the last several hundred residents out of the camp and toward a demonstration at the agriculture department, an hour before the final evacuation announcement.

The mass-exodus to the agriculture building, and then on to the capitol for the arrests which were SCLC's announced goal, was carefully synchronized with the government and even perdicted in the Washington Post this morning. Abernathy's group assembled at 8:30 a.m. and was just far enough away not to hear what was happening when the bustoccured. Earlier, Abernathy had complained to the press that the trouble with confronting the federal government was that, unlike Selma or Birmingham, there was no obvious enemy. The agriculture demonstration was hatched to avoid the one real confrontation of the Poor People's campaign.

Abernathy and the government had been working together since the early days of the campaign, the poor people being pawns in both their games of lobbying Congress--by a quaint technique--to prop up poverty funds and discredit and stop black alienation from spreading.

Yesterday's Evening Star revealed how the city commissioner's office had arranged a requisiton of lumber, bullhorns and other equipment for the campaign and had worked closely with SCLC in planning it. Walter Fonteroy, SCLC man in Washington, is one of Johnson's appointees to the city council.

But this cozy relationship went sour as officials began to realize that Abernathy did not have as much control over " his" poor people as he claimed. Various incidents of violence led to bad publicity. Most threatening, some of the residents were beginning to talk as if they would never go--at least until Congress did something--and it was becoming clear that Congress wasn't about to be budged especially by a bunch of poor people camping out on its doorstep. The heartrending village was becoming an unpopular eyesore.

So SCLC quietly arranged to de-escalate by offering free bus tickets to any remaining residents who wanted (would) to go home. Powerless to prevent de-escalation of the good behaviour permit, SCLC could not afford an ugly and bloody fight with the government.

At the same time, SCLC could not risk being too obvious and selling out the "we won't budge principle of the campaign, lest it lose all control over tent city residents. Particularily important, was maintaining enough

the first supper

The Loretto-Hilton Center was the scene of an experimental liturgy entitled "First Supper Mosaic" presented by a group called the South New Ground, on Sunday, June 16. The Rev. Bill Moll, Episcopalian minister of St. Paul's Church in Overland, Missouri and celebrant of the liturgy, discussed the themes by employing the archetypal experience of "taking" the self you have been given and making an "offering" of it; then, it is "broken," the ultimate symbol of which is death, and you "receive" it back a greater self, touched by the fundamental sources of life. Thus, Jesus' parable of the loaves and fishes in the Gospel according to Luke, formed the basis of the liturgy, as performed by the Kingdom House players, Gregg Mayer and Dancers, The Group, and the Jazz Freedom Movement.

The informal mood of the happening was enhanced by children distributing food to the audience, a symbol of the sharing community that humanity is capable of creating. This idea of community springs from the basic Christian doctrine that producer Paul Pic expressed when he said of the liturgy, "Life is a gift that we are celebrating through the art forms of dance, speech, and song." Indeed, as the Rev. Moll commented, "The celebration of life and the unfolding of Revelation occurs when Rosie Parks decides to stay in the front of the bus."

Sandy Ross

D.C. is SAIGON

continued - again and again and again and

permit had expired. (If you trust me, Ralph Abernathy, you'll go back to your beds," he had blared over the loudspeakers two nights earlier when an angry group had assembled.

So, Sunday, June 23, the last legal day, SCLC was busy constructing a huge new wooden edifice next to city hall, the most permanent wooden structure of all the camp buildings. But donated wood is cheap and the labor was free. Officially, the city was ignoring the edict. The registration booth was still open.

So most of the residents behaved no differently that afternoon than any other. Some even spent it painting their shacks.

Why did most of them follow Abernathy out? Why did many residents carry bundles of clothing to the agriculture demonstration even though the marshalls insisted they would all be coming back and would never, never abandon the city?

"You see, it's like this. When you have so many internal problems, all those troublemakers and all that negotiation by the leaders when we were not involved, the folks don't care so much. It don't seem right fighting so hard."

But some of the residents refused to leave, and 112 were hauled off to jail from their homes in Resurrection City. Fifteen hundred cops joined in the raid. Abandoning all pretense of the residents being residents and the citizens being citizens, no warrents were issued before the police entered the huts and arrested the people.

The news of the maneuvering which closed the city sent a wave of frustration through Washington's black community today and angry young men roamed the streets throwing bricks and bottles and looking menacing. A few stores were looted but Washington is Saigon and since King's death, troops have been stationed just outside on alert.

National guardsmen were trucked in on buses. A stretch of 14th street was systematically teargassed. The actual incidents which occured were minor and required little retelling, but it took military action of this scope and speed to prevent Washington's second major outburst in two months.

By 9 p.m. the city was under martial law. The goverment sees quite correctly that Washington must become a permanetly militarized city for if the troops go away, hell will break loose. For it is no longer possible for white America to govern Washington by civilian authority.

"Gentlemen of the Jury: I am accused of obstructing the war. I admit it. I am proud to admit it."

official violence, continued

The three men fled to Chicago after a gunfight with East St. Louis police. Thirty one shots were fired in that encounter and two policemen were wounded.

Although an all-points-bulletin had been issued for the three, it is not known whether Chicago police recognized them or if their apprehension was a part of a routine program of harassment in that city.

The men were in South Chicago sitting on a curb drinking--not an uncommon pastime on the South Side. They were armed. Police were able to handcuff Sharp but Herbert apparently fled shooting. A policeman was killed, but it is not clear who fired the fatal shots.

Childress was not present during the shooting--police found him in an apartment nearby and beat him beyond recognition, according to Rev. Keith Davis, a lutheran minister and chaplain of the Warlords, a black power group. He visited Childress in a Chicago hospital a week and a half after the incident. Childress did not recognize him--although they had been close friends--nor did he respond to his own last name or numerous nicknames.

Childress will probably be charged with several murders committed in East St. Louis during the spring.

The commercial press in the St. Louis metropolitan area and in Chicago have blamed at least two murders on Herbert. He was to have appeared in court June 10 in connection with the fatal beating of a white youth from Clayton, Mo. The gun used in the Chicago gunfight was taken from a railroad detective killed in East St. Louis in late April. That is not conclusive proof that Herbert was the murderer, however, since captured weapons are

NW: 15289 DocId: 70061143 Page 85

Ω Eugene V. Debs - 1917

Justice denied...

continued here

The government appears to have adopted a stock prosecution in draft cases: willful violation of the law. Legality and morality be damned--let us uphold the law. In the Spock case, the court decided that the question of the country ignoring international law and its own constitution was not important. The United States is above law. What is important in this case and in the case of David Harris, convicted two weeks earlier in San Francisco, is that laws are made to govern men. The courts have forgetten that law and order have a connection with justice.

Richard Snowden, our coerespondent in San Francisco, wrote after the Harris trial: "The myth of legality is exploding like a chain of chinese fireworks in court cases around the country. Those who worship law in this country forget that law and order have no necessary connection with justice. Hitler's government made laws for the maintenance of order. But justice was an entirely different thing. Ours is a conflict society and we have discovered no way to settle the conflict. The courts are a trick. They are protecting a way of life that is wreng and they give a free hand to those who in our names would commit genocide.

"The few who control the economy of the country also control the pwers invested in the law. The law is a tool serving only the select. The black man, the chicano, the poor white have long known from experience that law is only another means of oppression. How can a black man receive justice when he is judged by middle class whites who not only don't understand him but perceive him as a threat? They judge him by laws that were written against him. Those same laws stand against any minority group, against all poor people and against anyone who wants to make comprehensive

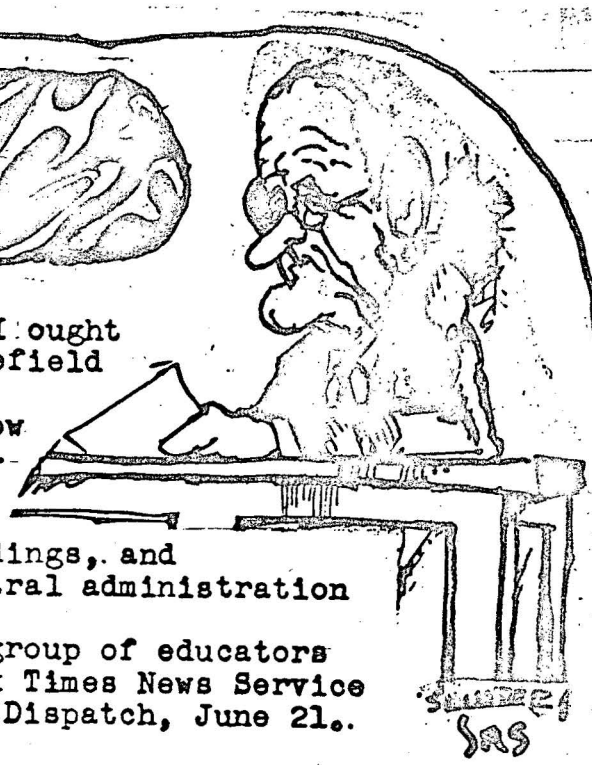
the
sandal shop
steppenwolf

fine things,
in leather, cloth,
and metal

409 n. euclid · 361-3282

BLOCKS
BOOKS

FROM THE WOLF



"How times change. I suspect I ought to ask some of you for a battlefield report this evening..

"I'd be interested to know how the pacification program is doing, how much progress you are making in reform, how things are going in the outlying buildings, and whether you still hold the central administration office."

Lyndon B. Johnson to a group of educators
--quoted by the New York Times News Service
and printed in the Post Dispatch, June 21.

Vietnam and America are the same.. The presence of 500,000 U.S. troops in Vietnam is no different in principle from the presence of National Guard troops in our cities and cops on our university campuses..

And how is the pacification program going at your school? Have you been offered any tempting reforms lately?

NEWS FROM LOTS OF PLACES

Compiled from Liberation News Service and Local Sources

BERKELY, CALIF.,--Raymond J. Sherwin, superior judge of Solano County, ordered Eldridge Cleaver released from Vacaville State Medical Facility June 11 on the grounds that Cleaver was being held as a political prisoner. Cleaver, minister of information for Oakland's Black Panthers and a candidate for the presidential nomination of the Peace and Freedom Party, is the author of the bestselling book, Soul on Ice.

Imprisoned in April for parole violation, Cleaver was able to turn black inmates on to the Panthers, a black defense and political organization. The imprisonment came after a shootout involving the Panthers and the Oakland police. Bobby Hutton, the 17 year old Panther treasurer, was killed as he attempted to surrender.

Cleaver's parole was revoked by the California Audit Authority, who claimed he owned a gun, had associated with "individuals of bad reputation" and had failed to cooperate with his parole officer.

Chief Assistant Attorney General Arlo E. Smith filed notice of appealing the release with the state court.

CHICAGO--Students for a Democratic Society--which Washington University SDS leader Terry Koch describes as a third-camp socialist group composed of students and ex-students--has been threatened with extinction by the Internal Revenue Service. At stake is some $10,000 in back taxes which IRS says SDS owes. If the money isn't paid "within a reasonable time" (the taxman won't say how long that is, but no tax liens have been filed by the government) the Chicago headquarters of the organization will be closed.

In a newsletter sent to regional offices of SDS, Tim McCarthy, a national officer, noted, "If we do not have the money when payment is demanded, they can close the office and confiscate any equipment as payment of taxes." SDS operates a sizable print ship and owns office equipment.

According to SDS, the candidacies of Kennedy and McCarthy had a lot to do with the financial difficulties the organization is facing. A lot of money that would normally go to SDS is now going into the campaign chests of liberal presidential candidates. That makes SDS feel that "the liberals are forsaking us."

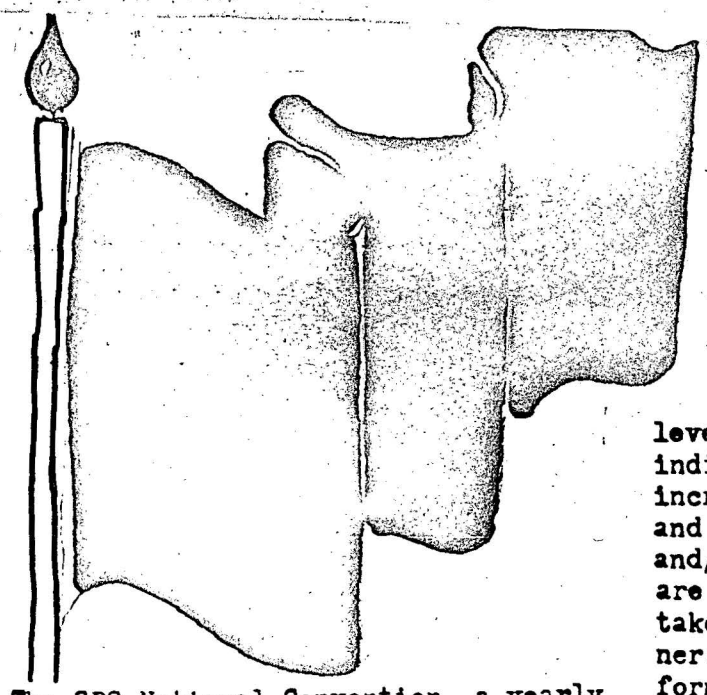
Checks may be sent to 1608 West Madison Avenue, Chicago.

WASHINGTON, D.C.--A recent surgeon general's report implies that the chemical Mace may be more dangerous than any police department had admitted. While evidence is not conclusive, Dr. William H. Stewart of the U.S. Public Health Service stated that it appears Mace is more dangerous than tear gas. The report urges that Mace be treated by "copious washing with water" and warns that absorption of the liquid into the victim's clothing may prolong ill effects. Salves, creams and ointments may intensify the pain rather than relieve it, Dr. Stewart added.

NEW YORK--Jerry Rubin, coordinator of the Youth International Party (YIPPEE), was arrested and beaten June 13. Police charged him with possession of drugs--a felony. From the conduct of the police, however, it was apparent that the bust was politically motivated. Police arrived at the apartment on the Lower East Side at about 5:30 p.m. and stayed about half an hour, threatening Rubin and rifling his papers, creating what Rubin called "an atmosphere of terror." They asked questions about YIPPEE, ESSO, a Lower East Side organization, Cuba, Castro, communism, China and Russia. Cops went through Rubin's phone lists, remarking, "This guy is subversive."

Handcuffed, Rubin was taken to the ninth precinct station in a private car. He was booked, then taken to Criminal Court where he was beaten on the head and kicked in the spine by one of the arresting officers. After being released on $1000 bail, he went to a hospital. X-rays indicated a probable fracture of the coccyx (a small bone at the base of the spine)--a painful but not serious injury.

NW 15289 DocId:7000143 Page 86



SDS REPORT

GUY NASSBERG

4

The SDS National Convention, a yearly gathering of New Left activists and federal agents, took place on the campus of Michigan State University, June 10-15. Radio stations warned of the activists who were destroying the "thin line between law and order---and anarchy!"; two local Congressmen arrived with movie cameramen to record their scowls at pictures of Che and bloodied Columbia University students; cops stopped cars of long-haired students on the flimsiest pretexts. But there we were, filling the auditorium of the largest police college in the country with cries of freedom and solidarity.

The Convention was intense, and the issues of debate real. We found our draft resistance coordinator, Jeff Segal, imprisoned for four years on charges of refusing induction. New York Lower East Side organizers reported that the cops were chasing kids out of the Village and busting their crash pads, trying to force them back to Mommy's sterile suburban womb. Bombing had increased in Vietnam (our war state can find any means to kill people) ; churches and blacks were burning in E. St. Louis and around the country. 30,000 people were in jail for possession of mind-expanding drugs, and one Michigan girl was busted with $10,000 bail on the last day of the conference. Society's one- dimensionality continued to engulf its remaining breathing space, and Everyone in America is up-tight.

We came to the Convention unhappy with the results of our organizing work, and especially with our lack of response to the presidential campaign, which seems to be raising the " crime in the streets" issue to cover up its slaughter in Vietnam, Thailand, Guatemala, Bolivia, and America. In response to increased repression and uneven growth of the left, we debated proposals for structural change. A plan to decentralize the organization, and put power in the hands and minds of democratic regional assemblies, was forwarded by a group of street organizers, "Up Against the Wall Motherfucker", working with kids on New York's Lower East Side. Insisting that "the duty of the Revolutionary is to make the revolutionary organization: only the people make the Revolution," the Motherfuckers sought to replace the traditional concept of the chapter with a more widely defined " local," organized on the basis of campus, community, or occupation (if you haven't dropped out.) The local would be broken down into small, workable groups called collectives. These could be living groups (communes such as those set up in the occupied Columbia dormitories), study

NW:6089 Docid: 70001143 Page 87

More central to the development of a strong local is the spontaneous emergence of " affinity groups." "A few people come together out of

level. Relying on each other, the individuals in an affinity group increase their potential for action and decrease the dangers of isolation and/or infiltration." When our phones are tapped, the police and the mafia take over the drug trade, and our banners are carried by Feds, we replace formal organization with the trust that the government cannot destroy.

The Motherfuckers backed their arguments by injecting periodic spontaneous happenings into an otherwise depressing faction-fight convention. I'll spare you that story. One of the Motherfuckers entered the convention wearing a large garbage pail, and promised that, if elected national secretary, he would keep all national directives to himself. (No worry-- with all the fights, we adopted no program.) Mocking our inability to work with each other, the anarchists kept alive that spirit of youthful spontaneity and community which is what the New Left is about, and the one thing which American society hasn't got.

· Columbia model ·

By advocating the "Columbia model" for campus activity next fall, we reaffirmed our belief that a common struggle against establishments which provide token or no channels (as at Columbia) for student/faculty/administration control, will, in itself, help evolve the institutions of a free and loving society. Constant reference was made to the spirit of equality which existed in the five liberated zones, or communes, of Columbia. For example, architecture students held a design-in, working closely with professors for the first time to plan ways for Columbia to expand without encroaching upon the lands of others; women refused to accept their male- subordinate roles, and men did the cooking; all decisions were made democratically. We sought some way to indicate to people that violence to property (breaking some windows and sitting in your own buildings) is not the violence committed against people by the New York City Tactical Police Force and the New York Times (its publisher is also on the Columbia Board of Trustees). People of America, YOU, not your money is where it's at. And we speak of the Liberation School, an outgrowth of the Battle of Columbia.

· Another report! ·

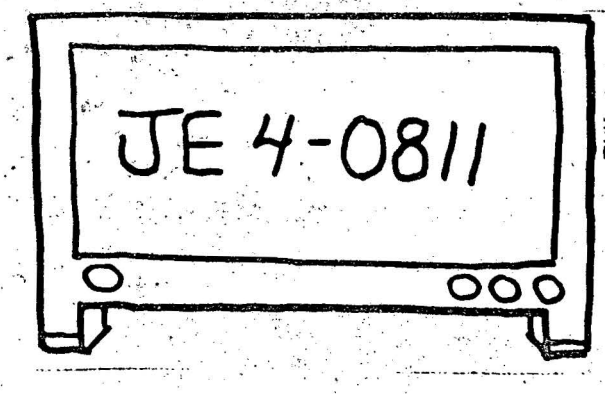
(According to another local source: An important aspect of the convention was that for the first time at an SDS National Council or Convention faction fights moved from the level of personalities and baiting to argumentation of politics. The major debate centered around the analyses and models for organizing presented by proponents of the "New Working Class" thesis and those presented by the Progressive Labor Party. The major result of this was to force SDS members to move away from gut reactions and towards developing an ideology.-eds.)

There is no formal program of SDS activity for the coming year. Some of us left the convention wearing buttons reading "Create Two, Three, Many Columbias. Others decided to work in factories, to move beyond the student community, to establish alliances with workers whose unions have sold them out. The national officers have been mandated to work toward the growth of autonomous regional structures, and the absence from the office of any members of the highly disciplined Progressive Labor Party gives some hope that regional growth will come about. We affirmed once again that the only hope in a world which is computerizing police records to keep us in our place lies in ourselves, and in our own struggle for self-determination and freedom. As Columbia students learned when the police attacked, the university, far from being a safe place apart from the world, is the world out there, regimented into departments, courses, credits, and barracks living. When we try to break out of these compartments, and assert that we have the right to learn a way to live without giving our institutions to a murderous government, and our lives to its factories, we learn the lesson of the revolutionary: " Our struggle is everywhere."

ex G.I.'s
ready to tell it like it is
contact
St. Louis Free Press
6244 Delmar
St. Louis, Mo. 63130

organizing a PEACE and FREEDOM PARTY
call Mack Antell
862-4287

FOR
CROW
BUSINESS FORMS • LETTERHEADS
ENVELOPES • etc...
KRONE
BUSINESS
SYSTEMS



Just a little bit more HYPOCRISY

On June 15, St. Louis held a telethon to raise money for an inner city summer playground program. It was a fine act of charity, and it probably made many people feel good about themselves and the city. But it was not what is needed.

The real question that should be asked is why the telethon was necessary to begin with. Why wasn't there enough money in the city budget for something as important as summer playgrounds?

Poor people should not have to rely on the good will and charity of rich people to get the things which they should have as a right. In any decent society, all men should have jobs and food and decent shelter, and all children should have the best education possible and a place to play while they are growing up.

They should not have to watch a television and wonder whether people care enough about them to come up with the $135,000 needed for a summer playground program. And they should not have to be thankful to the people who contribute.

It is a matter of dignity. That is what no one seems to be able to understand. That is why the poor people walked out of the Kiel rally, they wanted dignity, not charity. That is what the whole thing is all about. Poor people, like anyone else in America, have a right to adequate public services. They have earned it.

If our society were more decent, all people would have a decent standard of living, simply because they are people, and it is a disgrace for any person to be without food or shelter or education when there is enough wealth to provide it. It is our disgrace, and because of it ours is not a decent society, much less a great one.

There is not enough public money for parks and playgrounds because there is a war in Vietnam that costs $30 billion every year, that could be spent for parks and playgrounds and everything else that people in this country and other countries need.

Pretty soon federal spending will be cut. That was part of the deal Johnson made to get the 10% surtax passed. He had to get the surtax to pay for the war. Most of the spending cut will be in the areas of health, education, and welfare where we are already spending far too little. You will be paying 10% more in taxes than you are paying now, but public services will be reduced.

This means that poor people will have even less than they have now, because the government will have $6 billion less to spend than it has now. That is inhuman, and no amount of charitable telethons can make up for it.

People need to control their own lives. They can control how the government spends tax money, but they cannot control whether private citizens will contribute to a telethon. Charity leaves them at the mercy of others; it does not help them gain the power to control their own lives.

Let's look very briefly at the difference between politics and charity, between dignity and subsubservience. For a long time the Mid-City Community Congress and the Zulus have been asking the city to give them an abandoned fire house for use as a recreation center. The program would cost the city nothing; all the necessary funds have already been raised. At first, the city flatly refused, and then it gave the fire house to HDC. That was not what the people wanted--they wanted to run it themselves, and they were quite open and frank about that. The fire house was given to HDC despite protests by neighborhood residents. They may have gained a recreation center, but they lost a good deal of dignity. That is colonialism, however benevolent it might be.

Playgrounds are needed, but dignity is needed more. There is a program that would work; it is called democracy. The government need only do what the people ask it to do. If the war were ended, and it could be if everyone including our Mayor demanded that it be ended, there would be enough money to build a human society. Until then, anything else is a hoax, and charity from people who support the war and rob the people of public funds is degrading.

Marty Liebowitz

V

ALTON, ILL.,--Mrs. Regina Shaw is on welfare but she doesn't want to be. Nor does she have to be indefinitely. Mrs. Shaw has a talent for art and she wants to be a teacher. A college degree would practically guarantee a job. Realizing this, Mrs. Shaw enrolled at Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville.

The Madison County Department of Public Aid has agreed to continue support payments while Mrs. Shaw pursues her education. This represents a direct shift in policy. On May 7, Robert C. Gwin, the department superintendent, wrote Mrs. Shaw that her support payments would stop unless she terminated her enrollment at SIU at the end of the spring quarter. Gwin's reasoning: "It is not felt by the agency at this time that it is necessary to hold a four year degree in order to secure adequate employment for the support of your family. Therefore, we encourage the recipient to attain the minimum level of competence that is necessary to provide support for the family in the shortest period of time.

Mrs. Shaw argued that a degree was necessary for her to attain a job. After two months, the welfare department agreed. Last week, Gwin announced that his agency will pay for Mrs. Shaw's education and expenses In its first issue, the St. Louis Free Press printed Gwin's letter and a letter which Mrs. Shaw wrote to him. It was that exchange which first brought the matter to Gwin's attention. Now, the state of Illinois is re-evaluating its policy concerning

GUNS

The Mayor of San Francisco asked people in that city to turn in their guns during the week of July 4. We wonder whether his proposal includes the Oakland and San Francisco police departments.

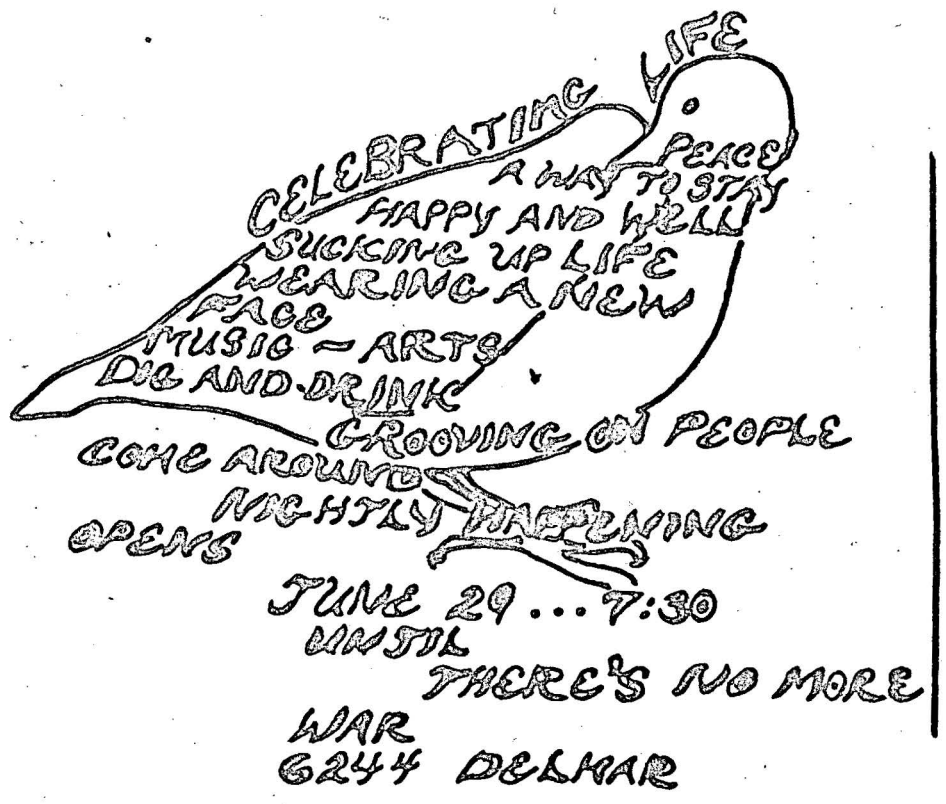
Police officers from those departments have harrassed, beaten, shot and killed members of the Black Panther Party, and have brutally attacked peaceful anti-war demonstrators.

If there is unilateral disarmament of civilians rather than mutual disarmament of civilians and police, what protection will civilians have against brutality by police? At present, civilians have no effective way to control brutality and harrassment by police. In this situation, they must resort to self-defense.

If there is to be real disarmament in America, violence by both police and civilians must be stopped. Nothing else will work.

hubert
who
for
what?

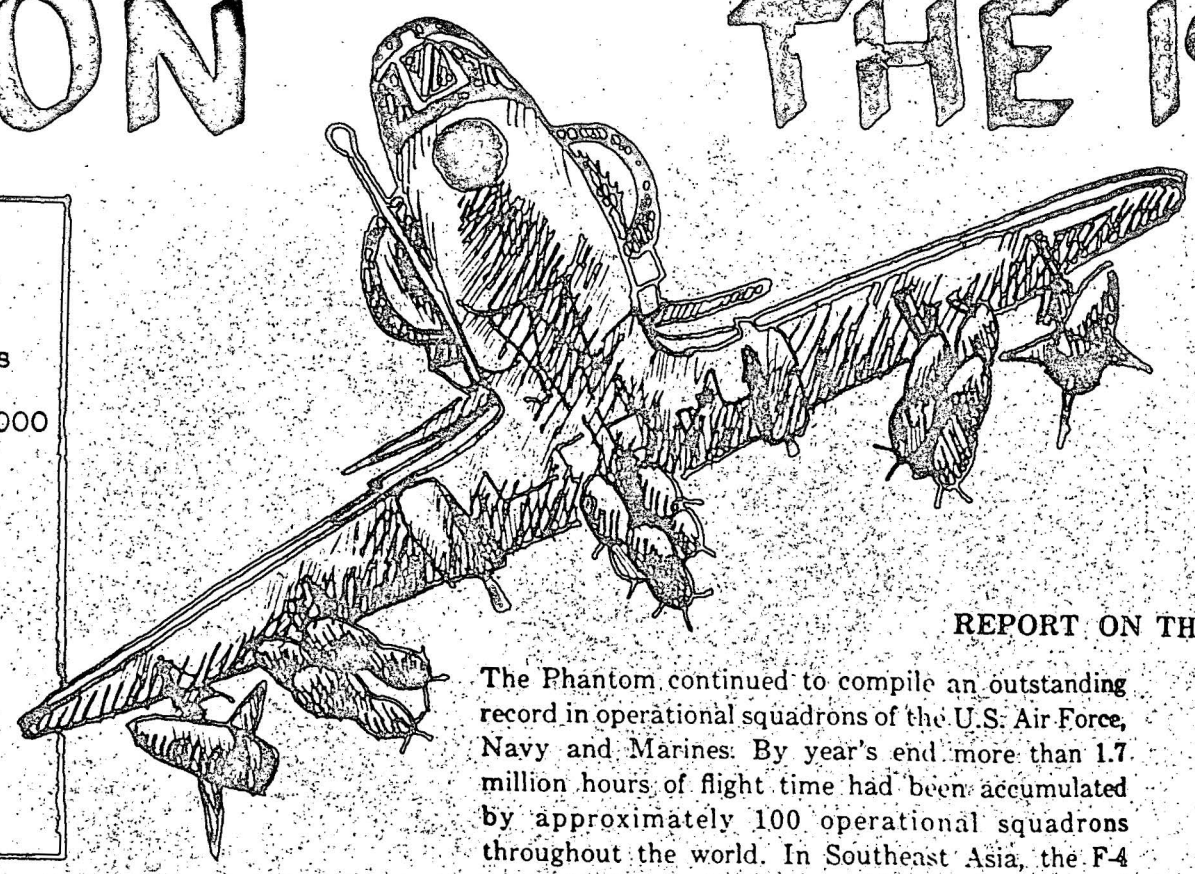
washington university
S.d.S.
meets at 6:30 p.m. every Friday in the Formal Lounge



NW: 15289 Docid: 70001143 Page 88

REPORT ON THE 196

Last year, the federal government started its own employment program. The army needed men, so Secretary of Defense McNamara lowered standards for educational acceptability and set up special education projects to rehabilitate men who were formerly considered unacceptable. Under this plan, 100,000 men were forced into military service who were able to avoid it before.
McDonnell makes most of its money from the Department of Defense, yet it has no comparable training program. It does not reduce its standards, and it will not train people unless paid well. Private industry should at least match the zeal of the army in reclaiming hard core unemployed men.
It is a sick society where the army is the only institution that trains men who can't find work, and forces them to accept work that they do not want.



REPORT ON THE 1967 YEAR

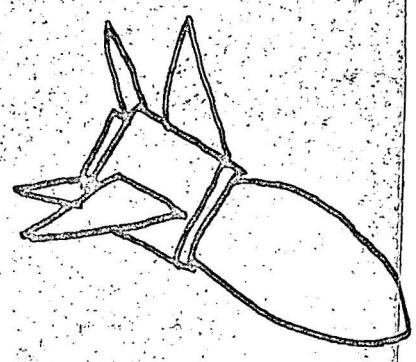
The Phantom continued to compile an outstanding record in operational squadrons of the U.S. Air Force, Navy and Marines. By year's end more than 1.7 million hours of flight time had been accumulated by approximately 100 operational squadrons throughout the world. In Southeast Asia, the F-4 has been flown on every conceivable type of mission with excellent results, and its versatility has never ceased to impress service pilots.

Among the top news stories of 1967 was the U. S. Government's decision to deploy against the Communist Chinese threat an anti-ballistic missile system, designated Sentinel, which will use the Spartan missile as its long-range interceptor.

Douglas Missile & Space Systems Division is responsible for the Spartan's airframe as a principal subcontractor to Western Electric Company and Bell Telephone Laboratories. Spartan is the latest product of a famous heritage. Its progenitors include the Nike series of air defense missiles, which the same team of contractors produced for the U. S. Army.

Simultaneous with the deployment program, MSSD will continue Spartan R&D under the Nike-X program on approximately the same scale as in 1967.

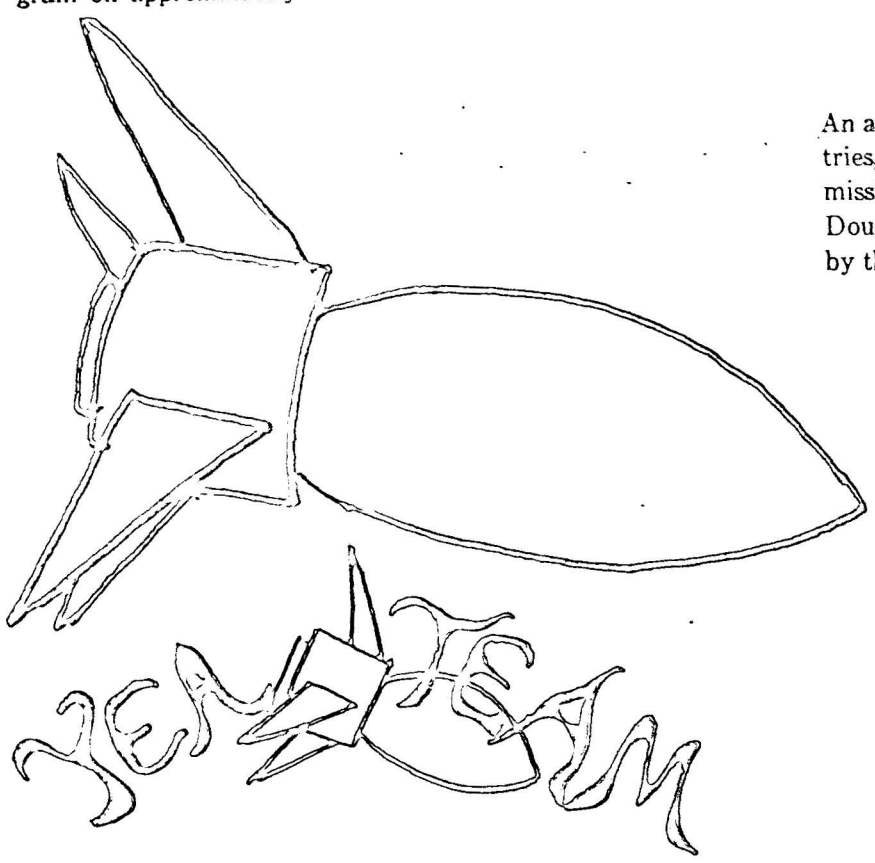
Extensive company- and government-funded studies of advanced fighter and reconnaissance concepts were carried out, including a VFAX advanced fighter design for the U.S. Navy and AX and FX designs for the U.S. Air Force.



WAR

IS GO

An agreement under which Mitsubishi Heavy Industries, Ltd. will produce Nike Hercules air defense missiles in Japan under license from McDonnell Douglas has been signed. It is subject to ratification by the Governments of the United States and Japan.



YEAR

McDonnell is receiving $800,000 from the federal government to train and employ 90 hard core unemployed men. That is over $8,000 per man, or as much as it takes to send one person to an expensive university for four years. Most of the 90 men are being trained for low level jobs: semi-skilled and service jobs. For this reason, the program will do little to end employment discrimination; someone is making a handsome profit off tokenism.

Record sales of $2,933,753,157 i
an all-time high of $966,731,140
and an all-time high of $1,967,
ment sales. The following table
by major product lines, and il
diversification in related fields ach

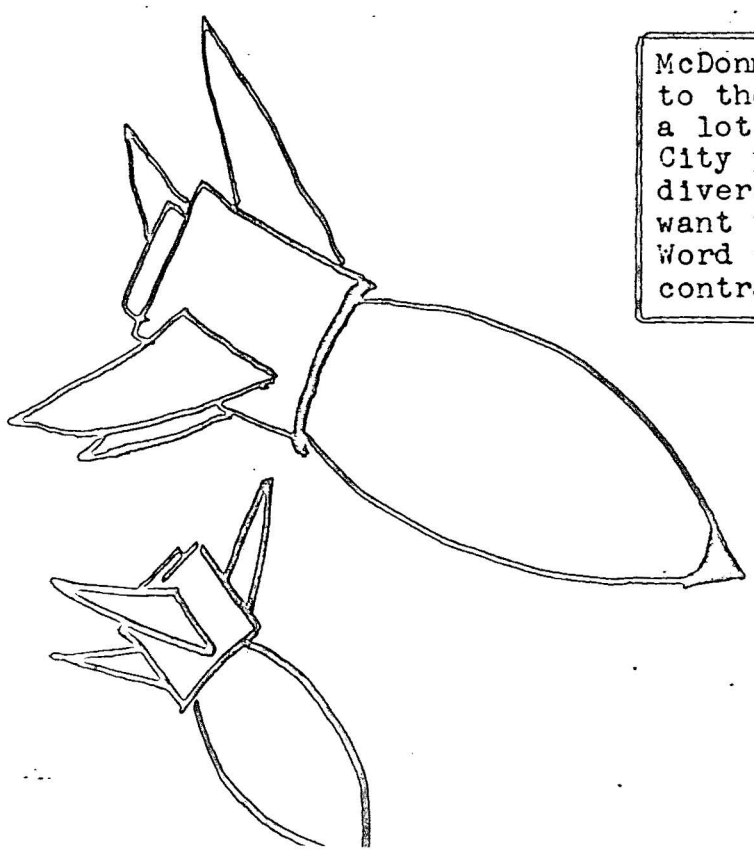
Commercial aircraft and support	$
Military aircraft and support	1,
Spacecraft and missiles	
Automation, electronics, nucleonics, and optics	
	$2,

McDonnell Phantoms and Douglas Skyhawks—our versatile teammates—were in the middle of the action again in 1967, providing support for the fighting forces in Vietnam and maintaining a global vigil in defense of the Free World.

Production of both the F-4 Phantom and A-4 Skyhawk continued at a high level. By year's end, more than 2600 F-4s and 2000 A-4s had been delivered to the U.S. Navy, Marine Corps and Air Force.

Both aircraft are being produced for export, through the U.S. Government. Delivery to the United Kingdom of Phantoms for the Royal Navy and Air Force will begin in the spring of 1968.

The Imperial Iranian Air Force has ordered two squadrons of Phantoms, while 10 Skyhawks are serving overseas with the Royal Australian Navy and 24 are with the Argentine Air Force. The new TA-4, a two-place trainer version which retains the Skyhawk's full combat capabilities, is included in [illegible] to Australia. Skyhawks also



McDonnell lent several high ranking em
to the St. Louis Model Cities Agency.
a lot of the early planning that shape
City program in St. Louis. This was pa
diversification program at McDonnell--
want their grubby little fingers in mo
Word is they are looking for urban rap
contracts.

Procurement of the Navy's VS
cated, carrier-based anti-subm
system, was approved by the I
in 1967 and we are working on
mitted in the spring of 1968.
team has been assembled fror
poration so that we may mo
in this important competition

NW: 19289 Docld: 70001143 Page 89

TO THE COMMUNITY AND THE NATION*

THE 1967 YEAR OF SERVICE TO THE COMMUNITY AND THE NATION

*Everything not in boxes quoted directly from McDonnell-Douglas Annual Stockholders Report for 1967.

Production of the F-4 Phantom, with subcontracts spread from the Atlantic to the Pacific, continues at a high rate in St. Louis, and this will proceed apace as we meet the needs of the United States Government, and through it the needs of several friendly nations. Of the 10 versions of the F-4 Phantom so far introduced, six were being produced during 1967. We anticipate that deliveries of the Phantom will continue to the mid-1970s.

During the year, the McDonnell Astronautics Company entered the production engineering phase on the Dragon anti-tank missile for the Army. Launch-environment testing began at Cape Kennedy last summer, and guided flight tests were initiated at Huntsville late in the fall. In December, the Army announced that a Dragon hit the target with "bull's-eye" accuracy in its first full-range test.

Report issued by McDonnell-Douglas to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in Sept. 1967.

Job Category	Total Employees	Negro Employees	% Negro/ White Employees
Officers and managers	5015	46	0.91
Professionals	6488	61	0.93
Sales Workers	39	0	0.00
Office and Clerical	6988	422	5.70
Skilled Craftsmen	15318	1363	8.20
Semi-skilled Operators	5292	1997	27.40
Unskilled Laborers	274	189	40.80
Service Workers	927	366	28.30
Apprentices	50	1	2.00
On the Job Training for White Collar	33	1	2.90
On the Job Training for Production	118	3	2.50
	40492	4449	10.90

This is a pretty bad record. Of the 201 people receiving some form of job training, only 5 are Negro. That gives you some idea of what the future will bring.
In white collar jobs, fewer than 1 out of every 100 employees are Negro.
Well over half of all Negro employees are either in semi-skilled, unskilled, or service jobs. These are the jobs that will be eliminated by automation, or by production cutbacks if contracts decline. There may be a lot of unemployed black people soon, especially if military spending is reduced. That ties the black community to the warfare state.

GOOD BUSINESS

$2,933,753,157 in 1967 resulted from
of $966,731,140 in commercial sales
high of $1,967,022,017 in Govern-
following table presents 1967 sales
uct lines, and illustrates the sound
related fields achieved by the merger:

rcraft	$ 946,277,840	32.2%
ft and support	1,336,521,894	45.6%
missiles	515,352,702	17.6%
ectronics, nd optics	135,600,721	4.6%
	$2,933,753,157	100.0%

Sales	$2,933,753,157
Payroll	$1,214,146,842
Pay of ten highest paid executives (average per man $86,331)	$863,307
The compensation after income taxes of the Chief Executive Officer is equal to the wages (for 48 hours per week) after income taxes of	11 Floor Sweepers

ranking employees
s Agency. They did
that shaped the Model
his was part of a
cDonnell--they
gers in more pies.
urban rapid transit

James McDonnell was Chairman of the Washington University Board of Trustees last year.

f the Navy's VS(X), a highly sophisti-
based anti-submarine warfare aircraft
proved by the Department of Defense
are working on a proposal to be sub-
spring of 1968. An extremely capable
assembled from throughout the cor-
at we may mount a maximum effort
nt competition.

PREPARING FOR TOMORROW'S WAR TODAY

Our armed forces have specified requirements for a number of new aircraft types, which are not derivatives of the Phantom, and we are sparing no effort to assure that our corporation has a strong competitive position in the upcoming competitions. Progress toward peace in Southeast Asia should speed rather than retard these programs. (italics added)

Last year, James McDonnell donated a $15 million medical building to the Washington University Medical School. Instead of this act of charity, he should have built a much larger medical center in Vietnam to heal some of the human misery his planes have caused.

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 90

Affections Enter In

(For Robert and Ollie Mazey)

The moon and these stars take it all
in their considered swing
back to the child.

The snows had sifted all the skies
but stars and moon.
The northern city's lights, turned
in upon themselves, were mute.

Now, years later,
pain has grown into that same sky.
Pain, unchilded, with no wisdom,
veers my center vulnerable.
Affections enter in.

-Susan Elizabeth Abrams

Poem for the question in the throat

It's following me
It walks before me it walks too slowly
I pause and look down at its feet
I pause and look down at its feet

I am the man you suspected if only you knew me
it would change everything
I killed Kennedy
I was behind the Bay of Pigs the senate race in
New Hampshire the Miss America
Pageant your phone bill
My voice is the noise of the cigarette machines

-Richard Deutch

Poem

I am moving
picking up dressers, rugs,
ash trays:
Out to the car--
5 miles to the
new apartment--
all under the
bare bulbs and
watching neighbors.
Checking for subtle flaws,
the critical sense slowly
clearing my excitement,
practicing the old resign
for lack of perfection.
My father finally comes
to help with the furniture.
He picks up a trunk
and says with more
determination than I
remember: "Take the
other end. What the hell."

-Gerald M. Knoll

St. Louis Poem

"One evening an actor asked me to write a
play for an all-black cast. But what,
exactly, is a black? First of all,
what's his color?
-GENET

"No man should have that much power over
so many."
-police sergeant,
speaking of Malcolm X,
quoted in LIFE

The palm of the black man, raised
to face the enduring sun
grows out of the delicate wrist
of a St. Louis debutante,
stirring the water lilies
in the fountain of
Market Square.

Out in the thickets of Creve Coeur,
the bones of the slaves
are listening.

Two black cops, a german shepherd
poised like a guardian angel behind them,
sit parked on Delmar, awaiting
the rattle of chains with blue eyes.

-Richard Deutch

waterfall

the water
flows toward her
penetrates the cloth
and caresses
gently stroking
the flesh
her body carves
the falling tide
into fine curved streams
cools her
as she warms it
pressed into her skin
i am the sun-light
water
flushing over her
making her naked
with tiny wet hands
my fingers dancing
on her young shoulders
pulling her breast
and sliding smoothly
along the hips
i darken her hair
with blossoming kisses
as she rubs me
in her palms
and kicks my excited heart
into a soft spray
of crystal love seeds

-David Sparenberg

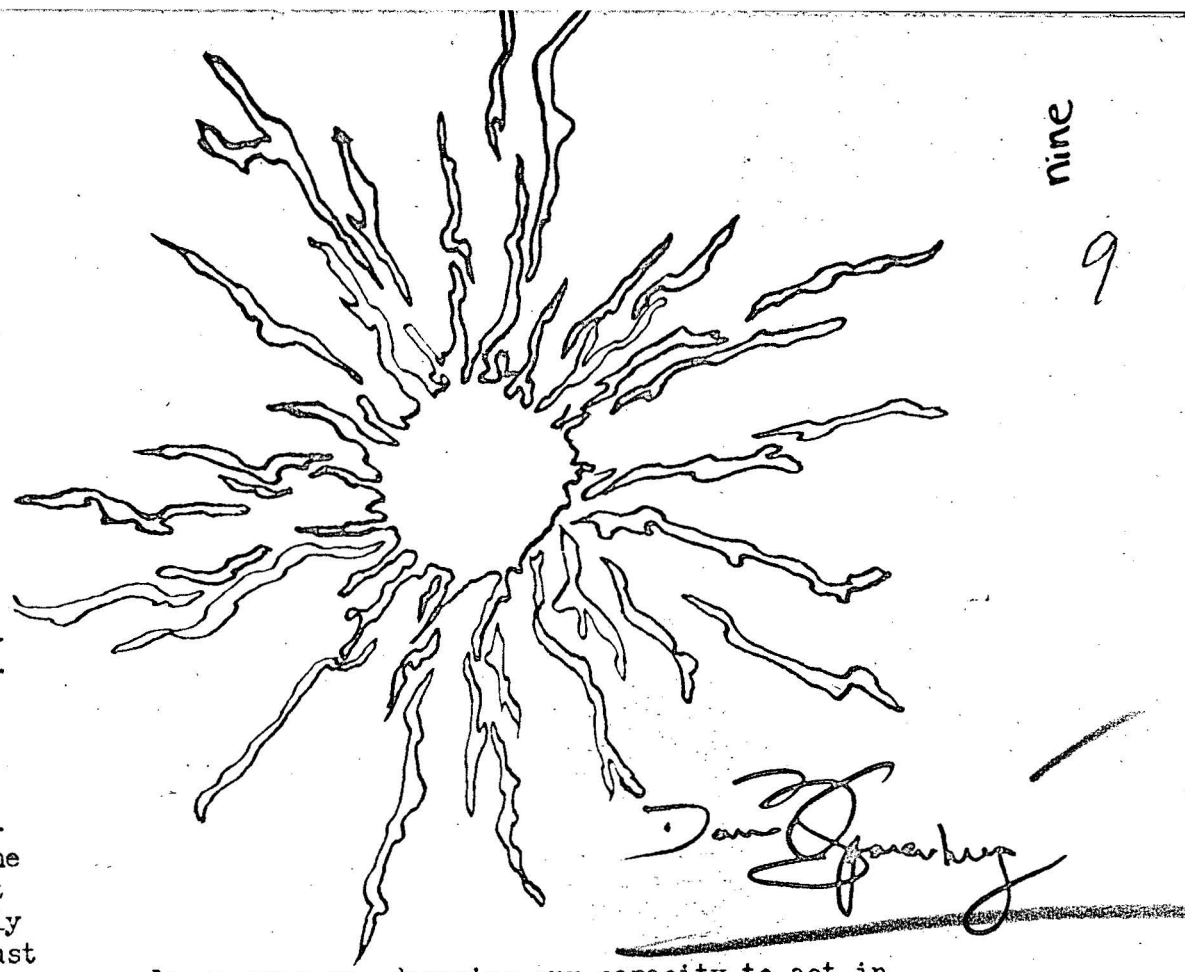
A Flea

There is no beauty in woman
that is not born of silence. Be
silent. Put on the sandals of silence
and walk on my lonely beaches
singing, more deeply than silence,
the blue pale song of the hyacinth
and the song of the clove and the marigold.

-Richard Deutch

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 91

A Season for Love
A Spirit of Life



At the risk of seeming ridiculous, let me say that the revolutionary is guided by a great feeling of love. It is impossible to think of a genuine revolutionary lacking this quality.

-Che Guevara-

Let us stop fooling ourselves. We mean revolution, and this in a very special manner. A genuine revolution now, against the past and the order it has constituted, that preys on our lives, can only be a revolution of anti-violence, a positive thrust against suffering, absurdity and death.

We must bear an idealism of sweat instead of blood. We need to demand life, continually and with unrelenting passion. In this we cannot afford to compromise. Conditions demand no less of us.

There is a certain shade of impracticality necessary to defeat the practical apparatus of the current system. This madness-for-sanity, in opposition to the sanity-of-madness surrounding us, is one of our most useful tools. We cannot abandon it.

But, there is a degree and type of practicality we must employ as well. It is the demand of numbers, the realization that solidarity alone, on an expanding scale, can bring about any authentic power shift.

Whether white or black, those of us engaged in this quest for change, share the same primal motive. This is to be a revolution for air. We are seeking to overcome strangulation. We are moving toward control. Control meaning freedom, rights and the respect of rights, to determine and direct our own lives.

Yet, for all that would tie us together, we stay distantly and stolidly apart. We play into the hands of our oppressors and allow them easy domination. We have failed to realize the fear of all masters who are confronted by their slaves. For this reason we have added to the rape of our dignity.

It is not our enemy's strength that keeps us down, but rather our own self-inflicted weakness. More so, it is our incapacity to recognize and seize upon the strength we actually possess, which is the limitless and diversified strength of human life.

Even the most courageous of us has been cowardly, the most demanding too callow. While one chain of inhumanity remains on any one of us, not so much by imposition as by our own laziness, we are shackled with the disgrace of being criminals.

In our present condition, all elements of the struggle only survive. But survival is the luxury of parasites, not of men. We merely survive because we do not function productively. We do not function because we have not learned to co-operate. But we do not need to simply exist if we are not involved in a gigantic attempt to prevail over non-existence.

We have concentrated so much on our differences that we have lost touch with the essential similarities. We have constructed our own defeats by our selfishness and short sightedness.

Looking about I see the disrupting distrust of men who share a common belief brought about by the prejudice of skin color, as if to inscribe upon our minds the odiousness of pigment as a measuring stick for compassion. I burn with indignation at this cheap ignorance to which we sell our souls.

I am exposed to the petty rivalry of individuals nd organizations that dissipates our energy and obs St. Louis of effective militant leadership. n this respect we do not require outside executioners. We are constantly involved in the act of uicide.

Though I have many black brothers, I must accuse hem of a particularly childish jealosy among the arious movement groups. And among the white radcals is the ever present antagonism of clashing ssiah egos. This must stop.

We can only begin to succeed when we have surplague over us, decaying our capacity to act in the fashion in which true revolutionaries must act; boldly, without bourgeois reserve.

This can only come about when we have created a mood of family and move with this attitude toward a new light of understanding.

I write this with anger as I visualize that light and recognize how very distant we who seek it keep ourselves. My anger is not an anger of hatred, but of love, an anger fed by the belief in victory. Morally I can only affirm this outrage I feel and call upon its outcry in others.

This outrage, this fire must burn. Victory can be ours. We will obtain it when we have learned togetherness. When we have learned to generate the the warmth of humanity by exercising the ideals we so readily espouse. When we have opened ourselves to a new height of sharing, we will become undefeatable.

This then must be the watchword of our movement; toughen up before the enemy, tighten up within our ranks. Come together.

This is our road. Let us begin our march by sacrificing our affection for nostalgia in favor of a vigorous new passion for the present. And let us move within the present with a faith in the future. This faith shall be founded on our united efforts. Community work is our guideline, guided itself by a feeling of community.

Our programs must be to create; create new organs, new leaders, new methods and new tools. Through these programs we can hope to unbalance the terrible destructive processes of the Establishment.

We can never cease to be negative in the sense of negating that which threatens to negate us. We cannot stop saying 'no' to the forces that are anti-human. The tragedy for us is in our confrontation with those forces, for they cannot be things but will always be other humans. Nonetheless we must make the difficult choice of being men, in that sense of man as a seeker of justice.

It is that very 'no' rebeling against absurdity that is the basis of our freedom. To that freedom we must commit ourselves by remaining steadfastly negative about slavery and the tyrants who enforce slavery. Our facade will have to become a hard nay-saying posture, while within we cultivate an explosive sun-globe, a positive 'yes' for this human endeavor we are undertaking.

Together we must present the alternative of life in place of this current structure of death. We must plant the seeds for a season of love as we go about yanking out the decayed roots of hatred and ignorance. Only through these alternatives can we know and live freedom. Only when and where honest choice exists do men experience freedom. Let us offer beauty to turn men's heads from ugliness. Let us offer a new, growing courage and hunger for life to draw men away from the crypts of death before which they now stand. Let us make our revolution, our freedom.

When we, the involved, no longer fear ourselves, the support of others will wash over us with the strength to build a suitable place for human existence.

Toughen up. Tighten up. Come together. We must recite this in our sleep, chant it when we awaken, sing it out, shout it in the streets and the courts, in houses, factories and schools, in all places,

NW 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 92

A PROBLEM IN TRANSLATION

STALEMATE in Paris

During the Paris Peace Talks, a North Vietnamese delegate promised that his country would not attack the U.S. mainland if America stops the bombing. Unfortunately, most Americans did not take his proposal seriously; it is far more reasonable than most of the American positions.

America started bombing in order to stop infiltration from the North. It did not work. In fact, infiltration has increased since the bombing began. Now we are offering to stop bombing if infiltration is stopped in return--we are trying to win in negotiations what we could not win by bombing the North. That is not a realistic basis for peace talks.

Let me suggest some more fruitful lines that the negotiations might take. America could stop bombing the North, and in return North Vietnam could end rocket attacks against U.S. airbases in the South and/or major cities like Saigon. America could stop sending men and munitions to South Vietnam, and in return the North could also stop sending men and materiél to the South. America could withdraw its forces, and in return the North could also withdraw its forces. In each of these cases, both sides would do exactly the same thing.

In the peace talks, we are asking the North to stop sending men and munitions if we stop the bombing, while we would continue infiltrating our own soldiers and supplies from the U.S. mainland to Vietnam.For example, during the last Christmas truce, the American press attacked the North Vietnamese for using the bombing pause to increase infiltration and demanded an immediate resumption of bombing. There was no mention, however, that America maintained a steady flow of men and materiél during the truce. We expected them to do something we were not willing to do, and that is still the basis of negotiations.

What we are really asking for is surrender; we want to achieve at the peace table what we could not achieve in the filed. That will not happen, the talks will drag on and more and more people will die until we are willing to enter into realistic negotiations.

The United States had no right to be in Vietnam, but we came, and now we are demanding that the Viet Cong and North Vietnam surrender before we will leave. Right has been replaced by might.

in America

We are in the same bag on the home front too. The cops harrass and brutalize people who engage in effective political action. Most of the original leadership of the Black Panther Party has either been murdered or is in prison. Others have taken their places; the movement has not been destroyed. Many radicals, white and black, are in prison or awaiting trial. It is happening all across the nation.

And they tell us the same thing that they tell North Vietnam: if you surrender, it will stop. If you do not resist the draft, you will not be put in prison for five years; if you do not march in demonstrations, your head will not be split and you will not be tear-gassed; if you do not fight against racism, you will not be shot; if you do not protest, you will be left alone. You are bringing it on yourself, they tell us. It is your fault, you are the cause of police repression. All you have to do is stop, and the police state will disappear.

What they mean is that we cannot win, but we can choose how painfully we will lose. They are willing to negotiate about the brutality of police repression but not about the substance of our political demands.

There is really no choice involved for us, just as there is no choice for the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong. We have got to live our own lives free, which for many of us means we have got to fight against the war, racism, and poverty. There is nothing else we can do and remain free, just as there is nothing else Vietnamese patriots can do but fight the American occupation and the corruption of the South Vietnamese "government".

If that means we must face the brutality of police and soldiers, that is what must happen. Just as the people of North Vietnam must face American bombs, because there is nothing else they can do. There should be no mistake about who creates the violence though. There is no place in a democracy for bloody police repression. Police have no right to brutally beat students at Columbia or demonstrators in Los Angeles and Chicago.

They are trying to get us to surrender at the peace table what they cannot take from us in the streets. Time is on our side...we will win.

Marty Lubowitz

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 93

TOURISTS

According to the latest information, the Arch may be visible on July 4th.
For further information call:
WEATHER BUREAU - PE 1-3002

beating plowshares into swords

According to UPI, the United States threatened to cut off foreign aid to Peru last month when that nation decided to purchase military aircraft from Britain and France. According to U.S. spokesmen, the action was taken because the aid had been earmarked for social and economic development rather than military assistance.

America fears that a Latin American arms race would be created if Peru buys B-57 Canberra jet bombers from England and Mirage fighters from France The money that Latin American nations would spend in such an arms race is desperately needed for social and economic development.

On the surface, the action taken by our country is in the best interests of Peru. We want to make sure that foreign aid is used to help the people rather than to improve the military.

However, the foreign policy of our country has been totally inconsistent with the present policy toward Peru. America is the largest munitions salesman in the world, and most of our foreign aid is in reality military assistance.

For example, from 1952-1965, Latin American nations received over $500 million in military assistance from the United States. From 1960 on, our government has supplied over $50 million worth of military aid per year; during 1963, every single Latin American nation except Cuba received at least $500,000 in military assistance, according to a study by the Institute of Defense Analysis.

According to I.F. Stone, there has been an increase in military sales abroad since 1962, during the administration of John F. Kennedy. In the February 6, 1967 issue of I.F. Stone Weekly, he wrote: "McNamara's other purpose, as he outlined it, was to gain influence among underdeveloped nations by giving or selling them more arms, and then use that influence to get them to spend less on arms and more on social improvement! This seems to set a new high in naivete."

In 1961, Kennedy established the "military assistance credit account" to enable foreign nations to but American arms on credit. This makes good business for American arms manufacturers, but we are paying for it with our tax dollars. Right now, up to $1,200,000,000 worth of munitions can be bought on this government credit account.

The United States is presently supplying arms to both Israel and Jordan. Those countries are fighting each other with arms Made in U.S.A. Thus, we have created our own little arms race in the Mid-East; no matter who wins or loses, American munitions makers are sure of a profit.

A Senate Foreign Relations staff study, issued in February, 1967, reported on our policy in West Germany: "The U.S. has insisted that the West Germans buy approximately $775 million in arms per year to offset the cost of maintaining U.S. troops there...The cost is rising...while West Germany's ability to absorb such equipment is rapidly declining..." (quoted in I.F. Stone Weekly, Feb. 6, 1967)

It seems that our policy in most of the world is different from the policy we are presently pursuing in Peru. Or maybe it isn't. Maybe we are mad because Peru is buying arms from Britain and France rather than America.

THEY ARE READY ARE YOU?

According to the Post Dispatch, the St. Louis Grand Jury recently recommended that the Central Police Station be remodeled to provide more detention space in case of an "emergency". They want to make the police station into a new jail.

Looks like plans are being made to handle any civil disorders before they occur: police are getting more powerful weapons, larger budgets, and bigger detention facilities.

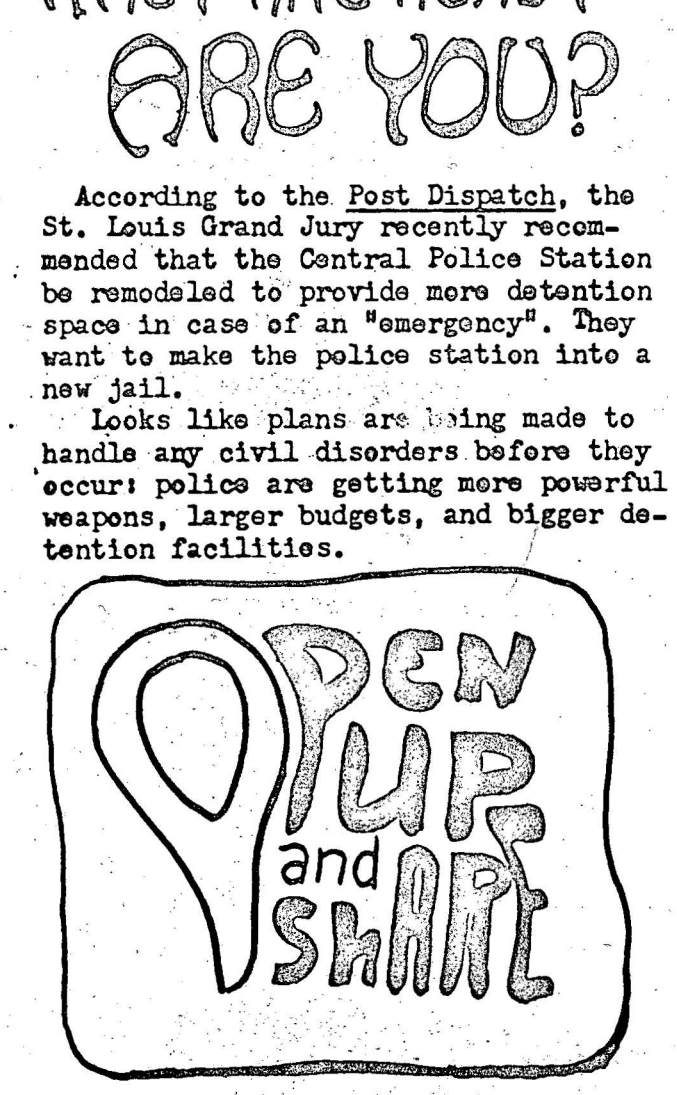
Books

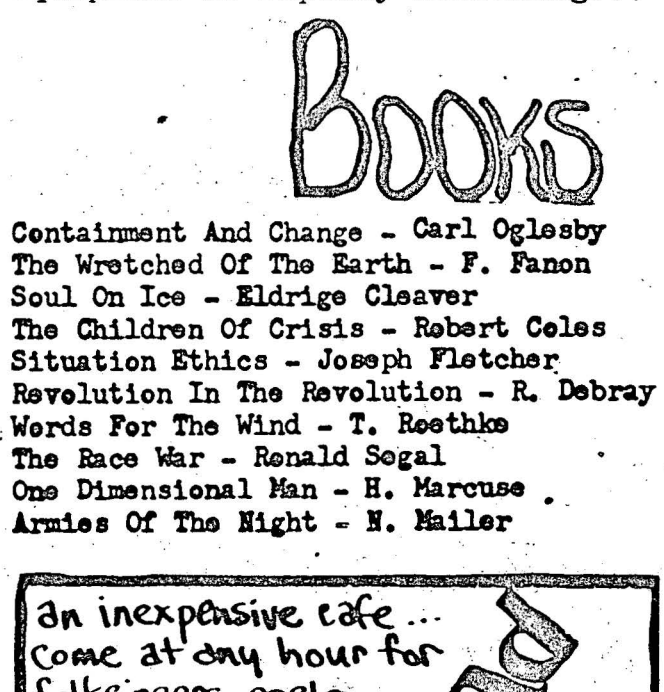
Containment And Change - Carl Oglesby
The Wretched Of The Earth - F. Fanon
Soul On Ice - Eldrige Cleaver
The Children Of Crisis - Robert Coles
Situation Ethics - Joseph Fletcher
Revolution In The Revolution - R. Debray
Words For The Wind - T. Roethke
The Race War - Renald Segal
One Dimensional Man - H. Marcuse
Armies Of The Night - N. Mailer

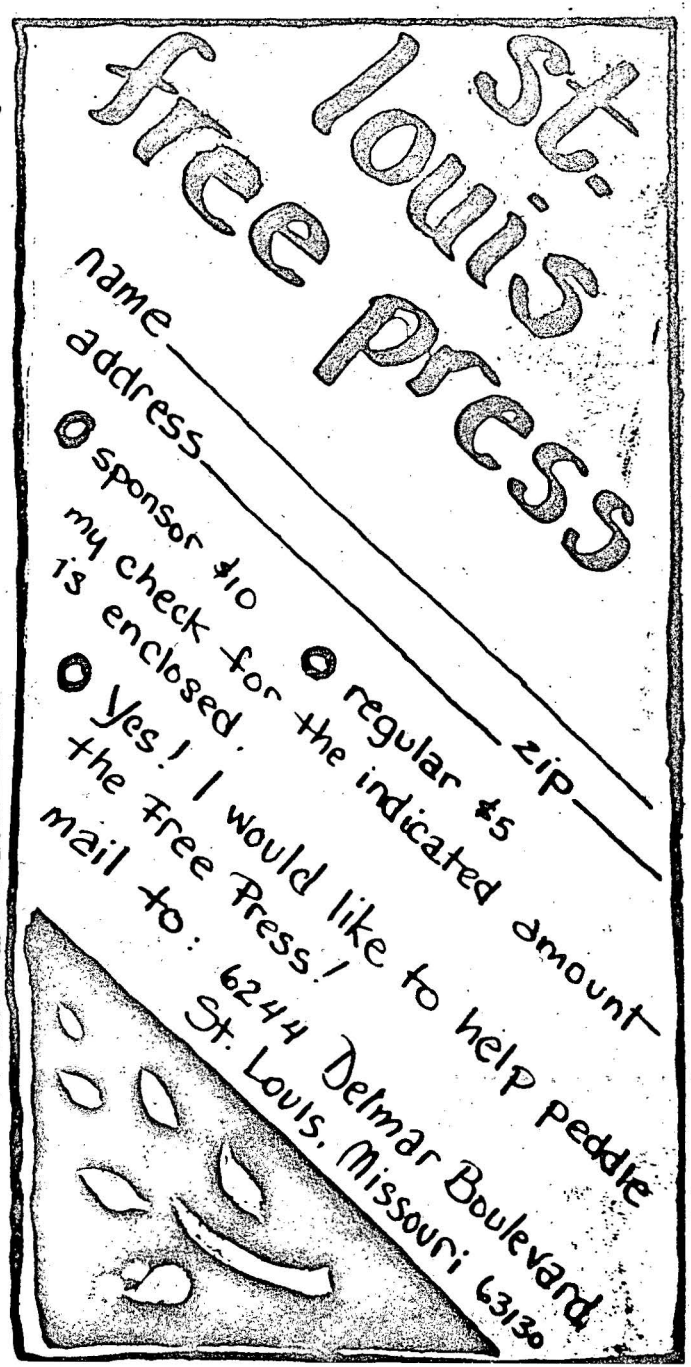
This is the staff

the st. louis free press is produced by anne summers, david sprenberg, richard snowdon (our man on the west coast), ann schoales, sandy ross, ginny moore, mary anita martin, dale lipman, marty liebowitz, karen lewis, terry koch, mike jacobs, fred faust, tom burkart, debby bockner, susan elizabeth abrams.

the st. louis free press is published by the st. louis free press inc. and is a member of liberation news service.







and where is Patric K Henry?

The Boston Four announced Monday that they would appeal their convictions of conspiracy to aid and abet young men to resist the draft. The four, pediatrician Dr. Benjamin Spock, Yale chaplain Rev. William Sloane Coffin, author Mitchell Goodman, and Michael Ferber, a Harvard graduate student, were convicted in Boston on June 15. A fifth defendant, Marcus Raskin, co-director of Washington's Institute for Policy Studies, was acquitted. The convictions carry a maximum penalty of five years in federal prison, and a ten thousand dollar fine. The four are to be sentenced on July 12.

As with other trials for draft evasion, the defense was not allowed to argue the legality or morality of the war in Vietnam. Judge Francis J. W. Ford, who is 85, told the jury, "We are not trying the legality, morality or constitutionality of the war in Vietnam or the right of a citizen to protest. We are not trying the United States of America or President Johnson, nor are we trying the registrants who took part in the demonstration (at Boston's Arlington Street Church - participation was a crucial factor in the prosecution's case). The conspiracy indictment is the crucial issue, and it is your duty to determine whether the defendants knowingly and willingly conspired."

To prosecutor John H. Wall, the crucial issue was anarchy. "Don't surrender your conscience," he told the jury, "but the actions of men the government can and must control." Wall insisted that Congress "is the collective conscience of the country. I am arguing that it is a better conscience than any individual conscience."

CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO

not guilty

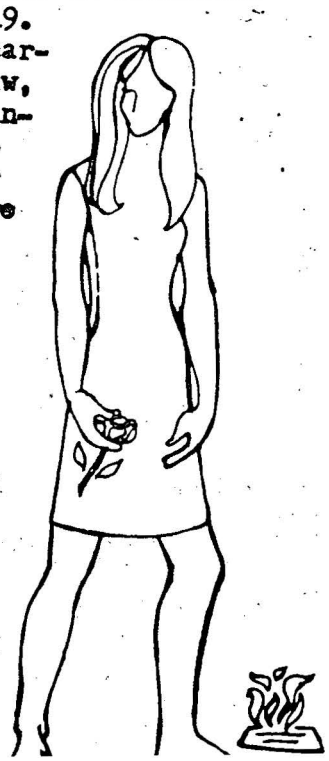
Brother David Darst, a St. Louisan, entered a plea of not guilty in federal court June 14. Brother Darst is charged with evading the draft. He refused induction in January. His trial will begin August 12. Brother Darst, a Catholic clergy, was also involved in burning draft records in a suburb of Baltimore, Md.

Chicks Burn for Men

WASHINGTON, D.C., June 17 (LNS)--Eleven women stood in the Washington rain today holding hands, red and white long-stemmed carnations, draft cards and selective service documents. Around them stood about 60 supporters, men and women; 40 reporters--including three women; two busloads of police --all male.

After one soaking hour had passed, Mary Suzuki Little of the New England Committee for NonViolent Action came down the stairs of theSupreme Court building across the street and told the group that the justices who voted on May 27 seven to one to uphold the illegality of mutilating draft cards would not meet with the women. "We can, however, if we wish, take a guided tour of the court in groups of threes," she said, "as long as we don't carry the charred remains of the draft cards with us." Laughter.

The women ranged in age from Irene Johnson of Massachusetts, 52, to Joan Francis of Minnesota, 19. At 2:30 p.m. they burned the papers they carried, given to them by friends, sons-in-law, husbands. The men whos cards were burned included a Vietnam veteran, a young Mexican-American, men already under indictment for refusing induction and men too old to serve in the army.

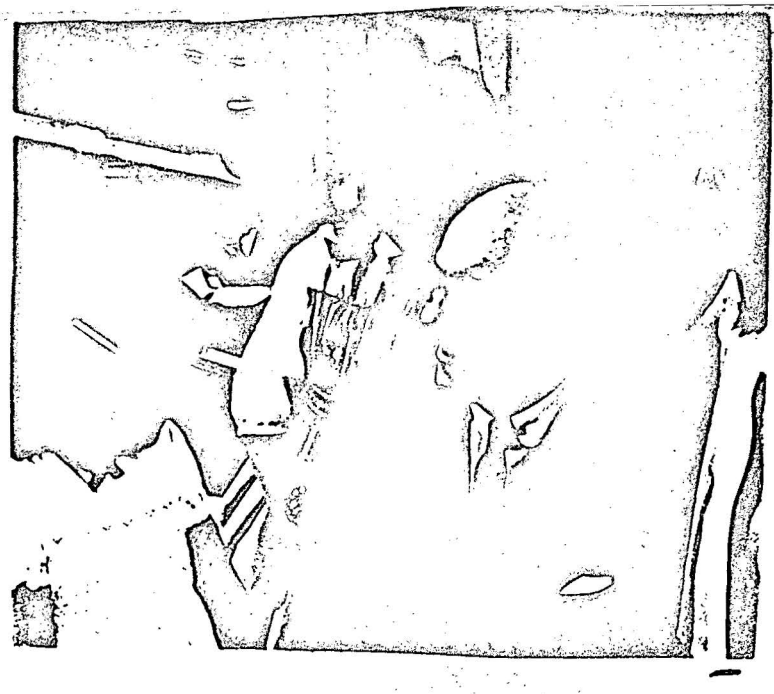


Wilson Fellows Resist

PORTLAND, ORE., (LNS)--Two hundred recent recipients of the nation's most prestigious award for graduate students in the United States and Canada have pledged to refuse induction "for the duration of the Vietnam conflict."

The 200 newly named Woodrow Wilson Fellows pledged either to refuse induction, or in the case of females, stated that they would refuse induction if they were eligible for the draft. Of the signers, 106 are male, 94 are female.

NW 15289 Docld: 70001143 Page 93



SPOCK IN ST. LOUIS--APRIL, 1968

DENIED IN FRISCO

David Harris, a national leader of the Resistance, was found guilty May 29 of refusing to be inducted into the armed forces. He was sentenced to three years in jail. Richard Snowdon, Free Press correspondent on the West Coast filed these impressions, part of a much longer story which, because of lack of space, we could not print..

Harris was asked to come forward for a few last remarks between himself and the judge. As he stood before the bench, it appeared that he was about to be sentenced. The entire gallery rose together and stood facing the judge. The tension was electric. For almost a full minute, the judge looked at us, not knowing what to make of it. Then he said, as if he had been affronted: "Is this some kind of dissent in the courtroom?" Harris answered no, that it was a symbol that we supported him and felt very involved in the trial. The judge replied, "I think we should proceed with dignity. I must do what I must do. If these people want to remain in the courtroom they will have to behave like everybody else." So we sat.

Then the judge turned to the defense attorney, Francis Heisler, a man with heavy white eyebrows, a white moustache and a white beard that made him look like a southern colonel from the front and flowing white hair that made him look like a grandfatherly hippy from the rear. The judge was sorry the case turned out this way, he told Heisler. Heisler replied: "We have a society and Mr. Harris has challenged that society. He and the young people like him want to show us a better society and they should be given a chance. My generation is a generation of failures; we failed these young men. We have never been able to give up the comfort of a good profession. This is a sick society, your Honor. This country needs these young people. The sentence is not punitive but vindictive...We need redemption very badly. These young people feel very much what, your Honor, we don't feel, that there is not very much time. That jury should have come back with a verdict of not guilty. We older people have forgotten how to dream and without dreams, mankind is lost."

Judge Carter talked about the sentence: "A prison sentence of this kind in so far as being a reformatory sentence for the purpose of rehabilitation is of no use. You don't have to be rehabilitated, you don't want to be, and you won't be, under any circumstances. I don't know as there is a reason that you should be--you don't lead a dissolute type of life...But the punitive character of this sentence must remain to say, first of all, that 'you shall not do this,' and secondly, as a warning to others."

Harris spoke about the people in this country and around the world that his act had been dedicated to. "If my act had made their suffering any less then there is no penalty involved. If there is any way for what we call civilization, which punishes them for being human, to change, it is by us becoming human beings. And that decision is ultimately beyond the law, a decision that has to be made in all our hearts. Without us making that statement, there will be no making that statement. That's the sole allegiance I owe-to the face of those men."

Judge Carter again: "I don't have any philosophy in my heart, nor do I feel there should be any unusual punishment. You have the right to change society. But it has to be orderly. I want to see your order, but you haven't brought it forth. I haven't seen it yet, I want to see what the people under 30 have said about them when they are older. Time will take care of you people...This is never a nice task. I find it most distasteful, but it is one of the necessary parts of doing this work, in some cases. Mr. Harris, you are one of the most willful violators I have ever seen in may years in court, probably the most willful violator...You are a deliberate, recalcitrant violator of the law."

Harris: "I came here representing something much more than myself. What I represent can't be stopped by prison, and this

FD-340 (REV. 6-24-65)

File No. 100-21213-114

Date Received _____

From _____
(NAME OF CONTRIBUTOR)

_____
(ADDRESS OF CONTRIBUTOR)

_____
(CITY AND STATE)

By Martin John Weber
(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)

To Be Returned ☐ Yes ☒ No

Receipt given ☐ Yes ☒ No

Description:

Proposed Letter to Benajmin Israel 921 Shandel

OBSCENE

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 96

10/4/68

AIRTEL AIRMAIL

CONFIDENTIAL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)

FROM: SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-19785)

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
IS - SDS

Enclosed for the Bureau are two copies each of seven enclosures. Six are articles from the "St. Louis Globe-Democrat" a daily St. Louis newspaper, and one from the "St. Louis Post-Dispatch" a daily St. Louis newspaper. These articles are being sent in order to acquaint the Bureau with disruptive activity in this division directed against the SDS.

The Lindbergh High School's interest mentioned in the articles is apparently concentrated in one of its new teachers, and is not the policy of the school administration.

The fact that SDS locally had announced its intention to make in-roads in local high schools was furnished by SA SPURGEON J. PETERSON (Acting Security Supervisor of the St. Louis Office) to SAC contact Mr. GEORGE KILLENBERG, the Associate Editor of the "St. Louis Globe-Democrat" upon a highly confidential basis. Lindbergh High School was not, however, specifically

3 - Bureau (100-439048) (Encl. 14) (RM)
(1 - COINTELPO - NEW LEFT)
4 St. Louis
(1 - 100-19785)
(1 - 100-21213 COINTELPO - NEW LEFT)
(2 - 100-New ALLAN JOHN MC CARTHY)
SJP:bam
(7)

Classified by 3067
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite
Signed 11/6/75

100-21213-31
SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
FILED

CONFIDENTIAL

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 99

mentioned to Mr. KILLENBERG but as a result his newspaper was able to develop the situation at Lindbergh and has resulted in countering any further attempts by SDS to infiltrate that school.

This same technique will, it is felt, work in the event SDS should try to invade other high schools in this area. St. Louis, therefore, requests Bureau authority to continue to furnish confidentially to Mr. KILLENBERG the specific identity of any other high schools if and when SDS should attempt to organize chapters at those schools.

For the further information of the Bureau, St. Louis, through a confidential source now under development, has determined that at the SDS Regional Conference held at Washington University, St. Louis, the weekend of 9/27-29/68, a teacher of the Lindbergh High School was present and had invited SDS leader TERRY KOCH to make a second appearance at the Lindbergh High School. This appearance, however, has been cancelled as the result of the publicity afforded by the "Globe-Democrat" newspaper. This source obtained a tape recording of part of the SDS conference proceedings which tape is being reviewed by St. Louis and will be appropriately handled regarding information contained thereon.

St. Louis, through confidential sources, has ascertained that the Lindbergh teacher involved is one ALLAN JOHN MC CARTHY who is described as 22 years old, single, and who attended the University of Missouri at Normandy, St. Louis County, and who obtained his degree at Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, Ill. He also attended Du Bourg High School and the St. Louis Junior College in St. Louis, and did his practice teaching at the Cleveland High School in St. Louis. He has previously been employed as a postal clerk from 7/65, to 7/65, and a Post Office route clerk from 11/64, to 7/65. From 4/64, to 9/64, he was employed by the Meyer Supply Co., at 816 S. Fyler Ave., St. Louis. He presently resides at 6201 Lindwood, Apt. 2,

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 100

and formerly resided at 3909 Philmore St. He is reported to have an 84 hour major in social studies.

St. Louis indices are negative on this individual. A new case file is being opened and Bureau authority is requested to develop additional background information on this individual and to determine through established sources the extent of his interests and connections with the SDS.

St. Louis will include this information in its letter to the Bureau (100-449698) on the Counter Intelligence Program of the New Left.

CONFIDENTIAL

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 101

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Radical Student Group Opens Recruiting Drive At Area High Schools

Students for a Democratic Society, a left-wing group active in the Chicago riots and under FBI investigation, has launched a local recruiting drive at area high schools.

The SDS campaign came to light here after a group of shocked Lindbergh High School parents met with the school principal Leroy Amen to discuss the problem. An SDS spokesman later confirmed the membership drive to The Globe-Democrat.

The parents met with Amen Saturday to learn why an SDS speaker had been permitted to address students and pass out recruiting material.

AMEN SAID the SDS member, Terry Koch, was invited to expose students to radical ideas. He said a John Birch Society spokesman later addressed the same students.

The parents, however, objected that many 9th grade, 14-year-old students attended the lectures, and since they were given no choice, thought the classes to be compulsory.

The propaganda pitches, Amen said, later were discussed in class to enable students to "think on their own" so they would not fall unwitting prey to similar radical groups in later years.

He also reported that about 15 students attending the school are SDS members and said "underground" leftist newspapers and leaflets have been turning up on campus.

Koch, a Washington University student, later confirmed the area-wide drive. He added that in less than a month more than 200 high school students have been recruited.

More than 50 of these students, he said, met recently to launch their own high school newspaper, patterned after the "Free Press," a left-wing publication with offices in Gaslight Square. SDS members and "Free Press" editors are coaching the youngsters, Koch said.

KOCH IS scheduled to appear before Lindbergh High School speech classes this week. The second invitation has not been canceled, he said.

Amen confirmed that Koch had been invited to return. He said Koch will take part in a panel-debate program and added that despite parent protests no plans exist to cancel Koch's appearance.

Leaflets handed out during class hours last Tuesday were entitled "SDS—Toward a Radical Movement" and listed "draft resistance," "university control" and high school "rebellion" as prime SDS goals.

The leaflets end with the plea, "Will you join us in the struggle" and list a local SDS phone number and the group's national headquarters' address.

FBI DIRECTOR J. Edgar Hoover warned recently that the SDS plans campus violence this fall and adds that the group has been infiltrated by Communists.

An FBI report revealed also that SDS workshops have been held to teach the use of bombs. Hoover, who describes the SDS as anarchist and subversive in nature, was recently quoted in a Globe-Democrat editorial calling on college administrators to ban the SDSs from their campuses.

Seven parents attended Saturday's meeting, in addition to the history teacher who invited Koch and the John Bircher. The parents said they would wait to see what action the school takes before taking further steps on their own.

School officials ofered to make available to interested parents tapes of the two speeches. Both Koch and the right-wing spokesman lectured to four, one-hour class sessions. Koch spoke last Tuesday, followed on Wednesday by the Bircher.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

St. Louis Globe-Democrat, St. Louis, Missouri
1A
St. Louis Post-Dispatch, St. Louis, Missouri
The St. Louis Argus, St. Louis, Missouri

Date: 9-30-68
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: St. Louis

☐ Being Investigated

NW: 15289 DocId: 7000164 Page 102

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

SDS Speaker Cancelled at Lindbergh High

A member of the left-wing Students for a Democratic Society, whose appearance at Lindbergh High School set off a wave of parents' protests, said Monday he has been asked not to make another talk at the school.

Terry Koch, a Washington University student who addressed four class sessions at Lindbergh last Tuesday, originally was due to take part in a panel-debate program in a return appearance.

"I got a call from the school today asking me not to come back because some parents were upset," Koch told The Globe-Democrat. "As it stands now, I won't be going back."

THE SECOND appearance had been set for Friday, Koch said.

Noah Gray, superintendent of the Lindbergh School District, had said earlier Monday that Koch "is not scheduled to speak again," but declined to say if he had ever been scheduled to return.

A group of Lindbergh High parents met with Leroy Amen, the school principal, during the weekend to challenge Koch's appearance last week.

The parents wanted to know why an SDS speaker had been allowed to talk to students and hand out recruiting matter for the society which is under FBI investigation.

FBI DIRECTOR J. Edgar Hoover has labeled the society as subversive and anarchistic and warned recently that it plans to stir up campus violence this fall.

R. H. Sperreng, president of the Lindbergh District school board, said the board was notified about the Koch controversy Monday. Sperreng said his reaction was that in view of the protests, "we ought to review any idea of a return appearance."

One of the members of the group of parents that had made the protests said he had learned that tapes of Koch's talks would be played at 2:30 p.m. Tuesday at the school, and any interested parents could hear them.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

8A St. Louis Globe-Democrat, St. Louis, Missouri
St. Louis Post-Dispatch, St. Louis, Missouri
The St. Louis Argus, St. Louis, Missouri

Date: 10-1-68
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: St. Louis

☐ Being Investigated

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 103

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

STUDENTS FOR A DEMONIAC SOCIETY

Inviting a local representative of the Students for a Democratic Society, an organization known nationally for its subversive activities and infiltration by Communists, to speak at Lindbergh High School to spread the SDS poison is a grievous disservice to the community.

Material now being distributed in area schools by the local SDS branch closely parallels the seditious propaganda of the national organization. It encourages students to work for "politically conscious acts of rebellion" in the nation's high schools, to join in the seditious draft resistance movement and to help radicalize the educational system and unions.

To know the potential of what could happen by permitting SDS to gain a foothold in high schools, or any educational institution for that matter, parents should acquaint themselves with the actions and the words of the Students for a Democratic Society across the United States.

They should bear in mind that this is the local affiliate of revolutionary movement which last June at its convention held discussions on sabotage and explosives, the use of various types of bombs to attack strategic buildings and the firing of Molotov cocktails from shotguns.

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover also reported that it held workshops outlining the use of bombings and possible attacks on Selective Service Centers. In this connection it should be noted that Dan Cotton, co-chairman of the SDS at St. Louis University, was arrested recently, along with seven clergymen and six others, on charges of burglary and arson in connection with the despicable invasion of a Milwaukee Selective Service office where draft records were seized and burned.

An article in the October issue of Reader's Digest gives a good summary of the SDS plans to "dispense with both democracy and society."

Several sentences which indicate the character of SDS:

"At the University of Georgia, SDS-led demonstrators occupied the administration building, demanding that women students be allowed to drink and stay out all night. At San Francisco State, they launched a rampage of looting, brawling and attempted arson of a campus bookstore, all in the name of defending four hoodlums who had beaten up the editor of the student newspaper.

"At the University of California in Berkeley, they deployed radio-directed students as shock troops, erected barricades and fought pitched battles with police in an assault on the Oakland induction center."

Greg Calvert, national secretary of SDS, is quoted as telling a New York Times reporter: "We're working to build a guerrilla force in an urban environment. We're actively organizing sedition."

The article also documents the deep penetration of SDS by Communists. Of the three national officers chosen at SDS's national convention in East Lansing, Mich., last June, only one failed to proclaim himself a Communist.

Tom Hayden, one of the founders of SDS, and the man most visibly in charge of SDS disruption at the recent Democratic National Convention, visited Hanoi in 1965 in the company of Herbert Aptheker, chief Communist theoretician and strategist in the United States. He has gone to Moscow, Havana, Peking and Bratislava, Czechoslovakia to attend secret Communist meetings.

It also was SDS under Mark Rudd which earlier this year seized five buildings at Columbia University, kidnapped Dean Henry Coleman and two aids, occupied the office of President Grayson Kirk, defiled it and stole important university documents. This savage exercise in anarchy caused Columbia University to close its classrooms for the remainder of the term.

This only begins to tell the rotten and seditious nature of the misnamed Students for a Democratic Society.

But it should be sufficient to indicate why an invitation to SDS to spread its poison in a high school is equivalent to inviting the head of the Mafia to present a treatise on murder and the rackets.

Certainly every institution of learning should provide students with a full opportunity to study the activities and ideas of groups in opposition to the prevailing philosophy of our system of government.

But it is highly irresponsible to give a forum, and along with it credence and respectability, to an organization that advocates and practices totalitarian methods in its plan to attempt the overthrow of our institutions.

Reforms are needed in many of our universities, in our government and in our political life. But in a truly democratic society these reforms are carried out by the ballot and by other representative means.

We have seen that such subversive organizations as SDS have nothing to offer other than the destruction of our democratic form of government. When any group resorts to violence what better evidence is there that it has nothing to say?

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

14A

St. Louis Globe-Democrat, St. Louis, Missouri

St. Louis Post-Dispatch, St. Louis, Missouri

The St. Louis Argus, St. Louis, Missouri

Date: 10-1-68
Edition:
Author: Hamilton Thornton
Editor: Editor
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: St. Louis

☐ Being Investigated

NW: 15280 Docld:7000143 Page 104

Largely because of permissive school administrators the SDS has been able to form 250 chapters all across the United States.

The Students for a Democratic Society should be banned universally. A school or college that allows an SDS chapter to exist in its midst is playing host to revolutionaries whose only causes are power and destruction. It also is sanctioning totalitarianism and giving it a base from which to attack the school administration itself, as well as the means to plot sedition and treason throughout the nation.

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 105

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Parents at Lindbergh Irate Over Left-Winger

About 100 angry parents of Lindbergh High School students confronted the school principal Tuesday afternoon and vociferously challenged his wisdom in permitting a left-wing speaker to address student classes last week.

The stormy 90-minute meeting was planned to permit parents to hear tape recordings of the speeches by Terry Koch, a Washington University student and representative of the Students for a Democratic Society.

BUT THE TAPES were unintelligible and the session turned into a raucous demonstration of irate parents, about one-fourth of them fathers, who demanded dismissal of the teacher they blamed for arranging the classes with Koch.

Leroy Amen, the principal, was shouted down on several occasions after he explained that the classes were intended to permit student approach to "controversial ideas."

"That's like putting out an assortment of food on trays, some good and some poisoned, and letting immature children make a choice," one parent protested.

THE PARENTS scoffed at Amen's contention that Koch's appearance counter-balanced one by a John Birch Society representative.

"You might as well give equal time to the Mafia, or set up a law enforcement spokesman against one representing organized crime," said another parent.

When one parent asked what assurance they could have that teachers were concerned with objective treatment, Amen replied: "You'll have to accept that on faith."

Another parent asked why if Koch's appearance was solely to inform he was permitted to recruit pupils.

AFTER AMEN said Koch's appearance was arranged by a high school social studies teacher, many parents said Amen should accept the blame, "regardless of the fault of a fledgling teacher."

Many of the parents demanded, without success, that Amen disclose the identity of the teacher and declared openly they would seek his dismissal. Each time this brought applause.

"I don't intend for him to be crucified," Amen replied.

When Amen said he didn't have a copy of the pamphlet Koch was distributing, and hadn't read it, a parent read some excerpts, one advocating "politically conscious acts of rebellion in the nation's high schools," and another asking students to "join us in the struggle."

ONE OF THE questioning parents was Boris Martin, St. Louis County councilman from the 6th district.

Applause followed the statement of one parent when he said:

"I'm getting tired of people interfering with my children and how I raise them. I want the schools to teach them reading, writing and arithmetic, and I'll teach them sex, religion and politics."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

1A St. Louis Globe-Democrat, St. Louis, Missouri

St. Louis Post-Dispatch, St. Louis, Missouri

The St. Louis Argus, St. Louis, Missouri

Date: 10-2-68

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: St. Louis

☐ Being Investigated

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 106

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

SDS Is Leading New Left Threat, FBI Report Says

By JAMES CARY
Globe-Democrat-Copley News Service

WASHINGTON.—The FBI said Tuesday that the militant campus organization, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) is at the core of new left violence in America and has already studied use of explosives against public facilities.

In its annual report for the 1967-68 fiscal year, the FBI said the study took place at the SDS national convention at Michigan State University in June.

"One of the workshops dealt with sabotage and explosives," the report stated. "The participants discussed various devices which might be developed for use against selective service facilities.

"IN ADDITION," it continued, "they discussed Molotov cocktails fired from shotguns and combustible materials and bombs which might be directed against communication and plumbing systems."

The report said SDS is "at the core" of the new left movement "which has mushroomed into a major security problem." The report added:

"Basically a college student group, the new left draws its supporters from a motley variety, including beatniks, hippies, disenchanted intellectuals, young faculty members and some 'overage' students still on the campus.

"The movement is held together by a bitter hatred of what is called the establishment . . . (the hatred) is reflected by intense opposition to the war in Vietnam, the draft, the ROTC, military recruiting on campus and the participation by universities in military research."

The FBI said that SDS, the report adds, is largely responsible for changing the new left movement from an attitde of passive dissent to one of active resistence.

The report continued:

"THE SDS HAS been the striking arm of student rebellions, such as at Columbia University in New York City, where violence erupted, including the kidnaping of academic personnel, the seizure of buildings and destruction of property.

"The concept of violence as an instrument to destroy the existing social order is inherent in the new left as it is in the philosophy of the old line Communists . . ."

The report claimed that Gus Nall, general secretary of the U.S. Communist Party, has described SDS as one of the groups the party "has going for us."

It also said, without identifying them, that two SDS elected national officers have publicly identified themselves as Communists "with a small c" — meaning they are Communists of a brand different from "old left Communist Party, U.S.A."

The passage on the new left and SDS did not elaborate further.

The remainder of the report dealt largely with claimed progress against crime during the 12 month period, particularly against the Cosa Nostra crime syndicate and its affiliated underworld organizations.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)
St. Louis Globe-Democrat, St. Louis, Missouri
St. Louis Post-Dispatch, St. Louis, Missouri
The St. Louis Argus, St. Louis, Missouri

Date: 10-2-68
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: St. Louis

☐ Being Investigated

NW: 15289 Docid: 70001143 Page 107

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Rep. King's View

Keep Extremists Off Campuses

Spokesmen for subversive and extremist groups, including Communists, should be banned from high school campuses, State Rep. R. J. (Bus) King, Clayton Republican, said Wednesday.

"Reports in the news media of a high school in St. Louis County permitting members of certain extremist groups to appear before students to advocate their theories are most disturbing to me," King, House minority leader in the last session of the Missouri Legislature, said in a prepared statement.

"I AM SURE MOST of the citizens of Missouri agree that our youth should know the views and policies advocated by extremist groups, including Communists. However, they should be given this information, not by advocates of these policies, but by trained and intelligent educators, well versed in these matters.

"No high school student should be subjected to classroom training from any advocate of extremism, either right or left or of Communist leanings.

"The State Board of Education and local school boards should be ever alert in this regard, and make it clear to administrators of our schools that this will not be permitted or tolerated.

"Extremism in any form can lead to only one thing — anarchy. Our responsibility to the youth of our state demands an immediate recognition of this and a policy prohibiting any future occurrences."

King said his statement was prompted by a news story in Wednesday's Globe-Democrat on a mass protest meeting of more than 100 angry parents at Lindbergh High School Tuesday afternoon.

THE PARENTS objected to actions of Terry Koch, a Washington University student and representative of Students for a Democratic Society, who not only was invited to address Lindbergh students, but allowed to recruit SDS members among them.

The organization has been officially labeled subversive by the Justice Department.

At Tuesday's confrontation with the parents, the school principal, Leroy Amen, repeatedly refused their demands that he identify a social science teacher blamed by Amen for "starting the whole thing."

Many parents said Amen should accept the blame, regardless of whether the teacher was originally responsible for wanting to invite Koch to address the students.

The teacher, Allan McCarthy, started his teaching career at Lindbergh this fall.

REP. R. J. KING

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

St. Louis Globe-Democrat, St. Louis, Missouri
11A
St. Louis Post-Dispatch, St. Louis, Missouri
The St. Louis Argus, St. Louis, Missouri

Date: 10-3-68
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: St. Louis

☐ Being Investigated

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 108

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Recruiting For SDS

Some high school students are forming chapters of the Students for a Democratic Society and are receiving counsel from university student members of the radical society, a leader of the group at Washington University reported today.

"Kids are getting together," said Terry Koch, a Washington University student. "They're forming groups in their own high schools and some of them want to start a high school paper similar to the St. Louis Free Press."

The Free Press is the local underground newspaper of the new left.

Koch said that a high school chapter of SDS already had been formed and that it was made up of students from various area high schools. But attempts are now being made, with SDS advisers, to form individual high school chapters.

The SDS leader said that his group was not actively recruiting in the high schools but was responding to requests from high school students who "don't like the way things are going in their high schools, nationally and internationally."

Koch said he had spoken at several high schools at the invitation of administrators and instructors who wished to present various political views to their students.

He spoke at Lindbergh High School last Tuesday and was followed on Wednesday by a speech from a member of the ultraconservative John Birch Society. Koch said he believed that the speeches from varying viewpoints were attempts to force students to think as individuals.

SDS is holding a rally at 12:30 p.m. tomorrow in the Washington University Quadrangle to make plans for a march and demonstrations at the opening game of the World Series Wednesday.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

6A St. Louis Globe-Democrat, St. Louis, Missouri
St. Louis Post-Dispatch, St. Louis, Missouri
The St. Louis Argus, St. Louis, Missouri

Date: 9-30-68
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: St. Louis

☐ Being Investigated

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 109

SAC, PHOENIX (105-2683) 10/18/68

SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-21213) P

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Re Phoenix letter, 8/28/68.

A review on 10/14/68, of the U.S. Army records on file at the Military Personnel Records Center, St. Louis, Mo., indicated MORRIS JOSEPH STARSKY, Serial Number BR 12 533 076, enlisted in the U.S. Army Reserve at Rochester, N.Y., on 3/18/57. He entered on active duty on 4/6/57, at Rochester, N.Y., and reported to Fort Jackson, S.C., on 4/7/57. He was honorably discharged as a Private on 5/2/57, at Fort Jackson, by reason of Physical Disability not aggravated by service.

He entered the USAF, Fort Jackson, S.C., on 4/10/57, and finding was kyphosis of the thoracic vertebra, secondary to changes at the age of 14. He was also under observation for hypertension, however, this stayed within the normal limits.

His military occupation was listed as Basic Trainee. There were no records of courts-martial or AWOL, or character or efficiency ratings.

The following information is contained in the records:

Date and place of birth	2/1/33, Rochester, N.Y.
Race	White, male
Height	5'10"
Weight	237 lbs.
Hair	Brown
Eyes	Brown
Build	Heavy
Blood Group	A
Scar	Appendectomy
Marital Status	Single
Education	BA Degree in Philosophy from U. of Rochester (55); and Graduate Student (part time teaching assistance) at

2 - Phoenix
2 - St. Louis
MJD:mck
(4)

100-21213-32

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
FILED

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 110

SL: #100-21213

	Brandeis U., Waltham, Mass. (History of Ideas) (57).
Hobbies	Photography, Music and Reading
Foreign Language	Read German
Father	DAVID STARSKY, 12 Harris St., Rochester, N.Y. (3/57).
Relative	RHEA KWIAT STARSKY
Social Security No.	070 26 8317
Selective Service No.	30 74 33 3
LDB No.	74, Rochester, N.Y.

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 111

SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-19785) 10-18-68

SA MARTIN JOHN WEBER

SDS
IS-SDS

On 10-2-68, COP FRED L. ZINN, Webster Groves PD, advised that MIC SANSONE, a student at Webster Groves High School, was recently talked to by the school's administration re activities he has had in behalf of SDS. ZINN stated that because of the administration's knowledge of SANSONE's intention to work with SDS a potentially dangerous situation at Webster Groves High School has been averted.

1 - 100-19785
1 - 100-21213
MJW:amb
(2)

100-21213-33

SEARCHED
OCT 18 1968
FBI — SAINT LOUIS

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 112

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698) 10/23/68

SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-21213)

CONFIDENTIAL

COINTELPRO -
NEW LEFT

The St. Louis Office in considering various counter-intelligence programs to be used in connection with disrupting activities of the Students for Democratic Society in this Division, has noted an article appearing on page 103 of the October, 1968, issue of the Readers Digest. This article is entitled, "SDS: Engineers of Campus Chaos" and is written by one EUGENE H. METHVIN. This is an excellent article describing the origin of SDS and how it has acted to carry out its policy of anarchy and subversion on college campuses. According to a statement on page 18 of the same issue of the publication, copies of this article are available for purchase from the Readers Digest. The prices range from 10 copies for $.50 to 1000 copies for $28.00.

St. Louis believes that this articles could be purchased in quantity and anonymously mailed to universities and high schools and other selected civic organizations in this Division for the purpose of calling to the attention of responsible individuals in these institutions the aims and purposes of the SDS. It is believed that many individuals are in need of such an explanation and if they have something concrete in their possession explaining SDS, its aims and purposes, that they would be in a better position to combat it.

Bureau authority is requested by St. Louis permitting the purchase of a quantity of this article and for the purpose of anonymously mailing it as above described.

Classified by 3067
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite
Classified 11/6/75

2 - Bureau
1 - St. Louis
SJP/lep
(3)

CONFIDENTIAL

100-21213-34
SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
FILED

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 113

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, St. Louis (100-21213) DATE: 10/31/68

FROM : Director, FBI (100-449698)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Reurlet 10/23/68.

For your information, the Bureau has ordered a quantity of reprints of the article appearing in "The Reader's Digest." When received, you will be supplied with the requested copies.

100-21213-35

SEARCHED.....INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....FILED.....
NOV 1 - 1968
FBI — SAINT LOUIS

5010-108

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

File—Serial Charge Out
FD-5 (Rev. 6-17-70)

☆ GPO : 1973 O - 503-768

File 100 - 21213 Date _____
Class. Case No. Last Serial

☐ Pending ☐ Closed

Serial No.	Description of Serial	Date Charged
36	Skipped IN Serialization	

Employee

RECHARGE Date _____

To _____ From _____

Initials of Clerk _____ _____ _____

Date _____ _____ _____

Date Charged

Employee

Location

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 115

10/22/68

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

FROM: SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-14259)(P)

COINTELPRO -
NEW LEFT

Re St. Louis airtel to the Bureau 10/15/68, referring to scheduled appearance of Dr. HERBERT MARCUSE of the University of California at San Diego on the campus of the University of Missouri at Columbia, Missouri, 11/6/68.

Enclosed for St. Louis and Kansas City is one copy each of report of SA ROBERT E. THORNTON 9/30/68 at San Diego entitled "HERBERT MARCUSE; SM - ANA." This report will identify MARCUSE and contains references to considerable public source material concerning his activities and ideology which public source material should be available for release with Bureau authority and should obviate the necessity for using information obtained from confidential sources. It is requested that if MARCUSE does in fact appear as a speaker at the University of Missouri that the San Diego Office be so advised along with information as to the sponsoring organization, the function at which he appears, and the general nature of his remarks.

MARCUSE is a Security Index subject in the San Diego Office.

3 - Bureau (AM)(REGISTERED)
2 - Kansas City (Enc. - 1)(AM)(REGISTERED)
3 - St. Louis (Enc. - 1)(100-21213)(AM)(REGISTERED)
[redacted]
(1 - 100-21218)
3 - San Diego
(1 - 100-13701)

RET:bcf
(11)

100-21213-37

SEARCHED.....INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....FILED.....
OCT 25 1968
FBI — SAINT LOUIS

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)
NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 116

It is also noted that JOHN STULL, Republican State Assemblyman, 714 Second Street, Encinitas, California, telephone 714-753-6561, has mounted an attack against MARCUSE in an effort to have him removed from his position as a teacher at UCSD and is known to have collected voluminous information concerning MARCUSE. It is suggested that PCS MARSHALL might want to contact STULL directly without identifying the Bureau as source of this lead.

St. Louis and Kansas City are requested to return the enclosed reports to San Diego when no longer needed.

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 117

Dear Prime Minister:

We, several members of the SDS at WU have been in attendance at several of your rallies at Whol Center, WU & feel you make an excellent appearance & project your message well. This letter is written as a potentially helpful criticism in the advancement of the movement.

1. General Dent should not be allowed to speak to college groups. He does not appear too intelligent as witnessed by numerous errors in speaking style. Also he attempts to draw the same magnetism as you attract & fails in his effort. We feel he brings out the "nigger" in the black community in regards to the above.

2. We feel you should not lecture to the U. campus concerning weapons. We are leftists, not militants. It is proper to use any means necessary to gain your freedom, however, some whites are not responding favorably to militancy & we must gain a semblance of respectability before we can be most effective.

We hope these ideas will be useful in analyzing your future activities.

100-21213-38
SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
FILED

11/6/68

AIRTEL AIRMAIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

FROM: SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-21213) P

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

New Left organizations in the St. Louis area including SDS have attempted to form a closer affiliation with the Black Liberators, a militant Negro organization in St. Louis, which organized in July, 1968. Members of the Black Liberators have appeared in public bearing arms and usually wear an all black uniform. CHARLES KOEN, the Prime Minister of the Black Liberators has embarked on a speaking program before numerous organizations including a series of 10 weekly lectures sponsored by SDS at Whol Center, Washington University, St. Louis. During these lectures KOEN has mentioned that the Black Liberators have an arsenal of weapons and frequently refers to killings and violence. These remarks have been reported to the Bureau under appropriate captions.

LEON DENT, second in command to KOEN, has replaced KOEN as speaker on several occasions, however, does not display the speaking ability of KOEN.

The enclosed letter, if approved, would have an adverse effect on the consolidatory efforts of the SDS and the Black Liberators.

~~Classified by~~ 3067 - Downgraded 4/18/77 Bur 2/sr 4/11/77 jcc
~~Exempt from GDS Category~~ 2
~~Date of Declassification Indefinite~~
~~Classified~~ 11-6-73

3 - Bureau (Encl. 1) (RM)
1 - St. Louis
MJW:bam
(4)

100 - 21213 - 39
SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
FILED

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 119

SL 100-21213

It is requested the Bureau grant authority for St. Louis to send a typewritten copy of instant letter, mailed anonymously to CHARLES KOEN at Black Liberator headquarters, St. Louis, Mo. Since timing is important in the delivery of instant letter it is requested St. Louis be advised by return airtel.

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 120

11/8/68

AIRTEL AIR MAIL

TO: SAC, DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

FROM: KANSAS CITY (100-12478) P

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Reference St. Louis airtel to Bureau, 10/15/68. San Diego airtel to Bureau, 10/22/68, and St. Louis airtel to Bureau, 10/23/68.

Enclosed for San Diego is one copy of the report of SA ROBERT E. THORNTON, dated San Diego 9/30/68, captioned "HERBERT MARCUSE; SM-ANA".

An article appeared in "The Maneater", a weekly campus newspaper at the University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri, dated 11/5/68. It reflected that HERBERT MARCUSE, author of the "New Left," had canceled his November 6, 1968, lecture at the University of Missouri.

MARCUSE, who was identified in the article as a professor of Philosphy at the University of California, at San Diego, cited a final deadline for publication as the reason for cancellation.

This article quoted Doctor JOHN KUHLMAN, Director of MU lecture series, in regarding the cancellation by MARCUSE.

Since no further action is required by the Kansas City office, report on MARCUSE is being returned to the San Diego office as requested by that office.

3-Bureau (RM)
2-St. Louis (100-21213) (RM)
2-San Diego (RM) (Enc. 1)(100-14258)
2-Kansas City
JPH/SD
(9)

100-21213-40
RECORDED
INDEXED
FILED
NOV 8 1968
FBI — SAINT LOUIS

WEBER

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 121

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, St. Louis (100-14259) DATE: 11/15/68

FROM : Director, FBI (100-449698)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Reurairtel 10/29/68.

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

Authority is granted to furnish the identity of public source material containing information on Dr. Herbert Marcuse to your potential confidential source, [redacted]

On the occasion of your contact with [redacted], you may also point out to him that John Stull may be able to furnish additional assistance in this matter. You should, of course, advise [redacted] that the Bureau's interest and assistance in this matter is to remain in the strictest confidence.

100-21213-41

SEARCHED In INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
NOV 16 1968
FBI — ST. LOUIS

WEBER

5010-108

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

0-9 (Rev. 5-22-64)

F B I

Date: 11-15-68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via Airtel _____
(Priority)

To: SAC, St. Louis (100-21213)

From: Director, FBI (100-449698)

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Reurairtel 11-6-68.

Authority is granted to make the anonymous mailing requested in airtel. It should be noted that Wohl is misspelled in airtel, as well as in the proposed letter.

Assure that your letter is prepared on commercially obtained stationery and that all other necessary steps are taken to protect the Bureau as its source.

Promptly advise of any results obtained.

100-21213-42

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
NOV 16 1968
FBI — ST. LOUIS

Weber

Sent Via _____ M Per _____

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 123

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698) 1/8/69

SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-21213) (P)

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT CONFIDENTIAL

Re SL letter to Bureau, 10/10/68.

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

(1) Potential Counterintelligence Action

On 1/2/69, [redacted] advised FREDRIC S. HALPER, SDS Rutgers University, has agreed to speak during "Cuba Week" at Washington University (WU), SLMO, in February, 1969. HALPER reportedly has traveled to Cuba. Background information re HALPER has been requested from other Divisions and if deemed appropriate, the Bureau will be requested to allow the SL Division to make certain background information available to SL sources who would be in a position to discredit HALPER and SDS.

(2) Pending Counterintelligence Action

On 10/15/68, [redacted] SL Potential Confidential Source, advised that HERBERT MARCUSE, instructor at the University of California at San Diego, Calif., was scheduled to speak at the Freshman Orientation Series, 11/6/68, University of Missouri at Columbia, Mo. MARCUSE is author of The One Dimensional Man and a philosopher of the New Left.

The Kansas City Division advised that the campus newspaper at the University of Missouri reflected that HERBERT MARCUSE had cancelled his 11/6/68 lecture at the University of Missouri, "because of a final deadline for publication."

Public source material re HERBERT MARCUSE was made available to [redacted] with Bureau authority.

In a communication dated 10/18/68, the Bureau furnished a copy of a pamphlet entitled "Students for a Democratic Society, Front Runner of the New Left" and ten

2 - Bureau
(2) - St. Louis
[redacted]
MJW;jmf
(4)

Declassified 4/18/77 per [illegible] 4/12/77

Classified by 6922
Exempt from GDS, Category
Date of Declassification Indefinite
By Classified 11/29/74 " 1/6/75

100-21213-43
SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
FILED

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 124

copies of a leaflet entitled "Campus or Battleground? Columbia is a Warning to All American Universities." On 10/24/68, one copy of each of the above were furnished Mr. GEORGE KILLENBURG, SAC contact and associate editor of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, on a highly confidential basis per Bureau authority granted in the communication 10/18/68.

In a communication dated 10/23/68, the SL Division noted an article appearing on page 103 of the October, 1968, issue of the Readers Digest; entitled "SDS; Engineers of Campus Chaos." SL believes this article could be purchased in quantity and anonymously mailed to universities and high schools and other selected civic organizations in the Division for the purpose of calling to the attention of responsible individuals in these institutions the aims and purposes of the SDS.

In a Bureau communication dated 10/31/68, the Bureau advised it was ordering a quantity of reprints of said article appearing in The Readers Digest. Same were routed to the SL Division and will be distributed with Bureau authority.

(3) Tangible Results

On 11/15/68, the Bureau granted authority for a letter critizing a member of the Black Liberators, a local SL Black militant organization, to be sent to CHARLES KOEN, Prime Minister of the Black Liberators. The Black Liberators had been scheduled to give a series of lectures sponsored by SDS at Washington University. The letter indicated it was written by some of the SDS members at Washington University.

It is difficult to assess the specific ramifications of the letter on the Black Liberators and their relationship with SDS at St. Louis, Missouri, however, the letter could reasonably be partially responsible for the growing split between KOEN, members of the Black Liberators and the lack of co-operation between the Black Liberators and SDS.

CONFIDENTIAL

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 125

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

State Colleges Warned On Speaker Policies

State Representative E. J. Cantrell (Dem.), Breckenridge Hills, sharply criticized yesterday the use of state college classrooms by "ultra-liberal groups."

Cantrell, chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, referred to the scheduled appearance Monday at the University of Missouri at St. Louis of Charles Koen, leader of the militant Black Liberators.

Cantrell commented at the end of a tour of the Missouri campus in Normandy by 18 freshmen members of the Missouri House of Representatives. Cantrell, a veteran in the Legislature, led the tour, which followed visits to other state-maintained institutions in the St. Louis area.

The legislators visited the Missouri Institute of Psychiatry, the St. Louis State Hospital, the Missouri School for the Blind, the Malcolm Bliss Mental Health Center, St. Louis State School and Hospital and the University of Missouri campus.

Under state law, newly elected members of the legislature are taken on a tour of the various state-operated institutions as part of a training program to help prepare them for their legislative activities.

Glen R. Driscoll, dean of faculties at the University of Missouri-St. Louis, toured the campus with the Representatives and then answered questions in a conference room.

"We become a little bit unhappy when such activities are condoned," said Cantrell, referring to "ultra-liberal groups or politics of any kind.

"If we find you (college administrators) becoming a little careless," said Cantrell, "we're going to be a little disturbed."

Cantrell mentioned to Driscoll a poster on a bulletin board that noted Koen's scheduled speech. The poster said that the Association of Black Legions at the University of Missouri at St. Louis was sponsoring an appearance by Koen in the Mathematics and Languages Building on the campus.

Driscoll said today that he had checked and found that the speech had met all the requirements for speakers on the campus. These are that the speaker must be brought to the campus by a recognized campus group, that the program must be approved by the dean of student affairs, that a tenured faculty member must appear with the speaker and that the speaker must be open to questions after his speech. Driscoll said that all these conditions had been met.

The Association of Black Legions is an organization of Negro students on campus. Earl Reeves, a professor of political science, is to appear with Koen.

"As far as I know, the speech will go on as scheduled because it has met the requirements," said Driscoll.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

St. Louis Globe Democrat, St. Louis, Missouri
St. Louis Post-Dispatch, St. Louis, Missouri
13A
St. Louis Argus, St. Louis, Missouri

Date: 12-6-68
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: St. Louis

☐ Being Investigated

100-21713-44

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
DEC 12 1968
FBI—ST. LOUIS

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 126

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Cliches of the Student Revolt

Like all protest movements, the student revolt which has erupted on so many campuses is developing excesses that tend to obscure understanding. Not only by coercive tactics but by the foolish extremism of their escalating "demands" the student militants are generating harsh counter-pressures.

Basically it is beneficial that young people should be dissatisfied with the society into which they are moving, and dissatisfied with the education available to them. A society which can produce the Vietnam war certainly needs critical examination. Students who contribute to that end are doing us all a service. But some of the educational preconceptions of their protest also need critical examination.

What, for instance, is meant by the now dominant cliche that education must be made more "relevant" to present-day life? In what respect has it become irrelevant? It is not necessary to defend every curriculum and every teacher to understand that in the pursuit of knowledge and the stimulation of the mind nothing whatever in the realm of ideas and the history of man is irrelevant. Those who would restrict college studies to subjects bearing directly on current social problems will wind up with a hash of half-baked sociology utterly cut off from the depth and meaning of the human experience. This is not fresh and daring innovation; it is a new version of the old fallacy that education has no values of its own but must be judged by its utilitarian results. Making all studies "relevant" to current events is essentially no different from regarding education solely as vocational training.

We also distrust the tendency of the militants to run in packs—a product, we suspect, of excessive socialization in earlier years, and perhaps an expression of personal insecurity. At a good university a student who finds his studies unrewarding can do something about it individually. Having access to all the resources of our intellectual heritage, he can do what others did before him—range through the byways of knowledge as a free and independent

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

St. Louis Globe Democrat, St. Louis, Missouri
2E St. Louis Post-Dispatch, St. Louis, Missouri
St. Louis Argus, St. Louis, Missouri

Date: 12-13-68
Edition:
Author: Pulitzer
Editor: Publishing Co.
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: St. Loui

Being Investigated

45
100-212 13-46

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
DEC 18 1968
FBI — ST. LOUIS

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 127

mind. The best education is self-education; it is not something handed out in packages to groups of 30. A university provides the facilities, and teachers who can help students to learn, but what the individual learns depends not so much on the system as on him.

Of course every university's curriculum can stand improvement, and student ideas on how to improve it should be welcomed, along with all other ideas. But to take ultimate control of the curriculum away from the faculty would be a body blow to academic freedom. If militants can subordinate the curriculum to their purposes, so can corporations, so can trade unions, so can the Pentagon, so can any other pressure group. Students above all others should be fighting for academic freedom, not against it; and those with really deep aspirations to control the curriculum should qualify themselves to join the faculties which rightfully should control it.

The demand for "black studies" has become another cliche of the protest. Certainly every good university must advance inter-racial understanding and make available all possible resources for the study of Negro history and culture by those who wish it. But to demand that every university set up a separate department, or a school, or even a college for this particular specialty is as unreasonable as it would be to demand a department of Jewish studies, Arab studies or American Indian studies. No doubt Swahili ought to be taught somewhere, but to teach it everywhere would be as wasteful of resources as a universal requirement of courses in Hindu dialects. Racism, black or white, should have no role in curriculum decisions, and no role in admissions policy.

We do not suppose such excesses of the student revolt will be corrected by the more militant activists who would rather agitate than study, but it is to be hoped that they will be rejected by the great body of young people who realize that in determining the quality of their education they are not so powerless as they may suppose.

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 128

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

CRACKDOWN ON COLLEGE GUERRILLAS

The nation cannot tolerate the unrelenting waves of barbarous attacks against university administrators that are taking place on campuses around the country.

It is now clear beyond any question that a small, highly-organized minority of extremists and revolutionaries are making war on some college authorities with the aim of overpowering them and taking control.

Mayor Sam Yorty of Los Angeles charged Thursday that student outbreaks on campuses in the Los Angeles area "have been masterminded, instigated and sponsored" by identified and known Communist party members and Communist party front organizations "as part of a national and international Communist pattern seeking to promote urban violence and social turmoil."

Yorty said militant black students, who have been taking part in college uprisings, have been influenced by known political agitators who are members of the Students for a Democratic Society.

The Los Angeles Mayor has called for a federal investigation of the SDS role "in initiating and agitating campus turmoil."

In assessing what is happening, Gov. Ronald Reagan of California said, "This is not just the hijinks of over-enthusiastic students. This is insurrection."

Nowhere was this more evident than at San Francisco State College where striking students and their faculty supporters have been making daily attacks on the offices of acting president S. I. Hayakawa, who has been roughed up and repeatedly threatened with bodily harm.

The guerrilla war against Hayakawa is reported being led by Students for a Democratic Society and the Black Students Union, with the assistance of a number of faculty members.

Their aim is to force the closing of the college until their absurdly exaggerated demands are met.

At San Mateo, 25 miles south of San Francisco, the president of the college was stabbed by one of the militants besieging his office. Thursday the rabble came back and stormed the president's office again as attempts were made to force release of the student charged with the stabbing. They were driven off by police but not until they had closed the college for two hours.

★ ★ ★

At Fordham University, 17 members of the Society of African-American Advancement marched into the office of Martin J. Meade, dean of student affairs, barricaded the door and held him prisoner for several hours until he signed a statement that university aid would not be cut off to black students who demonstrated in an orderly manner. The next day Meade was rushed to a hospital suffering from a heart attack.

These are the kinds of mob attacks taking place on campuses throughout the nation. As we consider their implications, three things become apparent.

The first is that a college president cannot be asked to indefinitely submit to such criminal attacks or to run a campus in a state of siege.

Standing off an invading force of young guerrillas and acting as field commander of an army of campus police to repel daily charges against his administration building clearly should not be required of any university administrator.

Second, it is obvious the young revolutionaries making these assaults are not students in the ordinary sense. They are, as Governor Reagan said, insurrectionists.

Thirdly, the welfare of the vast majority of students and our whole educational system demands that these conspirators and their leaders be put out of action.

The job of repelling and prosecuting these leftist and Communist assault forces should be taken by the governments in which the colleges are located.

The attackers should not even be permitted to march onto campus or to assemble near an administrative building in a threatening manner. Those who do attack campus officials should be promptly arrested and prosecuted.

★ ★ ★

We predict there will be no end to these assaults until the attack leaders are rounded up and sent to prison. We are happy to see such a round-up has taken place at San Francisco State where president Hayahawa has courageously stood up to unparalleled abuse and villification.

It is vital to the nation to smash this howling pack who claim the right to intimidate and injure college presidents as they seek to extort presumptuous concessions for themselves.

The American people, we believe, would like nothing better than to see law enforcement officials and the courts stage a massive crackdown on these foul-mouthed, power-hungry goons.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

14A St. Louis Globe Democrat, St. Louis, Missouri
___ St. Louis Post-Dispatch, St. Louis, Missouri
___ St. Louis Argus, St. Louis, Missouri
___
___
___
___

Date: 12-16-68
Edition:
Author: G. Duncan Bauman,
Editor: Publisher
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: St. Louis

☐ Being Investigated

46
100-21213-47

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED
SERIALIZED ____ FILED
DEC 18 1968
FBI — ST. LOUIS

NW: 15288 Docld: 70001143 Page 129

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Student Work-In

If all the nation's hippies and yippies expended as much energy on constructive pursuits as they waste on sit-ins, hairy demonstrations and riots, they just might be able to contribute something as useful to society as the service created by two seniors at Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Bernard Klein, 21, and Ray Kurzweil, 20, recently sold their computer-assisted college selection service, SELECT, to Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., publishers of textbooks and educational materials.

The program, designed to assist college aspirants in finding the school best suited to their individual needs, has been successfully operated by the two MIT seniors over the last two years. It is considered a significant contribution to educational progress.

The accomplishment of Klein and Kurzweil is irrefutable evidence of what can be achieved by young brains and young enthusiasm directed into productive channels.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

14A St. Louis Globe Democrat, St. Louis, Missouri
St. Louis Post-Dispatch, St. Louis, Missouri
St. Louis Argus, St. Louis, Missouri

Date: 12-18-68
Edition:
Author:
Editor: G. Duncan Bauman,
Title: Publisher

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: St. Louis

☐ Being Investigated

100-21213-48

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
DEC 18 1968
FBI — ST. LOUIS

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 130

10-29-68

AIRTEL AIRMAIL

CONFIDENTIAL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

FROM: SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-14259) P

RE: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

REMYAIRTEL to the Bureau, 10-15-68; SD airtel to the Bureau, 10-22-68, and report of SA ROBERT E. THORNTON, SD, 9-30-68.

On 10-28-68, [redacted] advised that DR. HERBERT MARCUSE's speech, scheduled for 11-6-68, at the Univ. of Mo., at Columbia, has been cancelled as MARCUSE has another commitment. [redacted] stated that MARCUSE was to speak as part of a Freshman Orientation Series, sponser unknown. [redacted] is still compiling background data on MARCUSE [redacted] to show the kind of individual who was offered a speaking engagement at a state supported school.

[redacted] It is suggested that the Bureau authorize furnishing the identity of public source material, as set forth in rerep, and the identity of JOHN STULL, Republican State Assemblyman, Encinitas, Calif., mentioned in re SD airtel, as a possible source of info on MARCUSE. Any info furnished would be on a highly confidential basis.

THE KANSAS CITY OFFICE:

AT COLUMBIA, MO.:

Confirm the cancellation of MARCUSE's appearance 11-6-68, and advise SD of the details as requested in SD airtel.

3 - Bureau RM
2 - Kansas City RM
2 - San Diego
2 - St. Louis [redacted]
MJW:wma (1 - 100-21213)
(9)

Classified by 3067
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite
Classified 11/6/75

100-21213-46

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
FILED

CONFIDENTIAL

NW 15088 DocId: 70001143 Page 131

SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-13701) 1/14/69

SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-21213) P

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Re San Diego airtel to Bureau, 10/22/68. Re Report of ROBERT E. THORNTON, 9/30/68 at San Diego, entitled HERBERT MARCUSE; SM-ANA.

Enclosed for San Diego is one copy of re report as requested in re airtel.

2 - San Diego (Enc. 1)
2 - St. Louis
MJW:mck
(4)

YELLOW COPY

100-21213-49
SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
FILED

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 132

SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-13701) 1/14/69

SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-21213) P

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Re San Diego airtel to Bureau, 10/22/68. Re Report of ROBERT E. THORNTON, 9/30/68 at San Diego, entitled HERBERT MARCUSE; SM-ANA.

Enclosed for San Diego is one copy of re report as requested in re airtel.

2 - San Diego (Enc. 1)
2 - St. Louis
MJW:mck
(4)

100-21213-50
SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
FILED

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 133

1-22-69

AIRTEL AIRMAIL

CONFIDENTIAL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-21213)

RE: COINTELPRO
NEW LEFT

BACKGROUND

RICHARD FREER, who is the self-claimed leader of the SL Draft Resistance and who is listed as a Key Activist, and MARTIN LIEBOWITZ, who is a leader in SDS in SLMO, and who is being considered for inclusion as a Key Activist, have recently expressed to established sources of the SL Division concern over potential activities against them by the Minutemen. (C)

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

FREER indicated to [redacted] that the Minutemen had shot through a window at his home and the Minutemen's "crosshairs" were placed on the window of the Peace Information Center, SLMO. LIEBOWITZ told JOHN SIEBENMAN, SLPD Intelligence Unit, that he is "afraid for his life" because of right wing opposition to SDS activities. (C)

It is noted that there is no evidence to support either FREER or LIEBOWITZ's contentions.

An informant of the SL Division furnished the two enclosed copies of printed matter signed the "Minutemen" to which has been added a small drawing and the initials R.F. and M.L. respectively.

CONFIDENTIAL

PROPOSED ACTION

Classified by 3067
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite

Pri Bur 1/2 4/14/72

Classified 1/6/75

3 - Bureau (Enc. 2)(RM)
2 - St. Louis
MJW:amb
(5)

100-21213-57

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
FILED

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 134

It is recommended that the SL Division purchase commercially manufactured envelopes and address one each to FREER and LIEBOWITZ with a copy of the printed matter enclosed in each. The envelopes would be mailed from a downtown mailbox.

EXPECTED RESULTS OF ACTION

It is felt that this action would be more than a harassment to FREER and LIEBOWITZ. They are both sensitive, introspective individuals who might consider curtailing their New Left activities somewhat if they thought their actions were opposed by the Minutemen.

In order that, if approved, the mailing be properly timed, the Bureau is requested to advise SL of their recommendation by airtel.
RETURN

This action would not entail any embarrassment to the Bureau.

CONFIDENTIAL

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 135

0-9 (Rev. 5-22-64)

F B I

Date: 1/29/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via airtel _____
(Priority)

To: SAC, St. Louis (100-21213)

From: Director, FBI (100-449698)

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Reurairtel 1/22/69.

Authority is denied to anonymously mail copies of the printed material submitted as enclosure to reairtel to Richard Freer and Martin Liebowitz.

As the Minutemen may be the subject of investigation of local authorities, it is not desirable that the Bureau enter into any activity that would complicate or confuse this investigation.

100-21213-52

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
JAN 31 1969
FBI — ST. LOUIS
SAC

Weber

Sent Via _____ M Per _____

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 136

2/14/69

AIRTEL AIRMAIL

CONFIDENTIAL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

FROM: SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-21213) P

RE: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

On instant date confidential source. [redacted] a trusted associate of SA HAROLD R. DOBSON since 1951, provided the following information:

[redacted] a resolution in the Missouri House of Representatives which would call for an investigation of activities on college campuses in Missouri. Based on the investigations findings, a committee would recommend legislative action by the Missouri House regarding disturbances on college campuses in Missouri.

[redacted] stated he is opposed to SDS and its principles and he expressed his views regarding SDS and similar college organizations, to Missouri Governor WARREN HEARNES. According to [redacted], Governor HEARNES is also deeply concerned regarding the above and is attempting to safeguard Missouri's campuses from major disturbances. [redacted] said that the proposed resolution will appear before a seven man committee which will recommend to the House whether or not it is worthy for consideration. [redacted] is now gathering information relating to campus disturbances in Missouri on which he hopes to build a successful case for his resolutions consideration. [redacted] advised that he will obtain a tape of a speech by THOMAS HAYDEN at Washington University (WU), St. Louis, Mo., 2/20/69, and that this tape as well as any other information that he has gathered would be available to the FBI on a confidential basis.

Declassified 5/31/77 per Burns 4/14/77 jtr

3 - Bureau
(2 - 100-449698)
[redacted]
3 - St. Louis
(2 - 100-21213)
[redacted]
MJW:rcs/mjl
(6)

100-21213
SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
FEB 15 1969
FBI—ST. LOUIS

100-21213-53
SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
FILED

Classified by 3067
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite
Classified 1/6/75

CONFIDENTIAL

NW 55000 DocId: 70001143 Page 137

SL: 100-21213

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

It is requested that the Bureau authorize St. Louis furnishing [redacted], on a highly confidential basis, copies of leaflets distributed by students at WU during disturbances at WU 12/5-14/68. Also public source information which may be of value to [redacted]. During the above disturbances, students occupied a portion of the WU campus disrupting campus activities on that part of the campus. [redacted] has indicated he is aware of the necessity for the strictest of confidential relationships in this matter. This action would not result in any embarrassment to the Bureau. The Bureau is requested to answer by return airtel.

12/16/68

AIRTEL AIRMAIL

CONFIDENTIAL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

FROM: SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-21213)

RE: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

For the Bureau's information, the St. Louis Office has been in communication with Mr. LYNN P. WEATHERMAN, the senior editor of the Community Press. This publication is a weekly type newspaper that is distributed in the western section of St. Louis County. The office is located in Ellisville, Mo., and it is a Husman publication. This contact was made on the basis of Mr. WEATHERMAN's interest in doing something to combat the "New Left" and in particularly the Students for a Democratic Society(SDS). With the announced intentions of the SDS to organize local high schools in the St. Louis area and with the reported attempt to do so in the Lindbergh High School, the Kirkwood High School, and the Parkway High School, it is believed that any exposure that the SDS might receive in a local press, such as the Community Press, could do much to counteract the activity of SDS in these areas and also would serve to bring to the attention of parents just what SDS is. Mr. WEATHERMAN was furnished with a copy of the SDS article appearing in the October, 1968, Reader's Digest and also a copy of the article entitled "An Analyses of the New Left: A Gospel of NIHILISM". Mr. WEATHERMAN expressedconsiderable interest in this information and stated that he would consider writing an article about SDS and also an editorial. He stated that any such items would be furnished to the St. Louis Office of the FBI. Upon receipt of this information copies of it will be forwarded to the Bureau for information purposes.

3 - Bureau
1 - St. Louis
SJP:mjl
(4)

Classified by 3062
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite
Declassified 11/6/75

100-21213-54

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
FILED

CONFIDENTIAL

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 139

SL: 100-21213

The indices of the St. Louis Office are negative concerning Mr. WEATHERMAN and the only information in our files identifiable with the Community Press is a copy of a letter addressed to Mr. HOOVER on 6/8/61, by a member of that publication congratulating Mr. HOOVER and offering that publication's service at any time. This letter was answered by the Bureau on 6/15/61, The Bureau letter was addressed to JOSEPH H. THOMAS and in accordance with his request and his enclosed material that had been requested in order that the paper could take measures in opposing the menace of Communism.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 140

0-9 (Rev. 5-22-64)

F B I

Date: **2/20/69**

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via **airtel** _____
(Priority)

To: SAC, St. Louis (100-21213)

From: Director, FBI (100-449698)

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Reurairtel 2/14/69.

Authority is granted to furnish [redacted] with copies of leaflets distributed by students at Washington University during disturbances at that school on 12/5-14/68. At that time you may also furnish him with any other public source material you may have which will be of assistance to him.

On the occasion of your contact with [redacted], you are to specifically point out to him that the Bureau's assistance in this matter is to be maintained in the strictest confidence. In addition, with the exception of furnishing this material, you will give [redacted] no additional guidance with respect to his legislative proposals.

Declassified 5/31/77 per Bu w/e 6/14/77 jlc

classified by 3347
Cnt 2
2/5/75
class @ 52 3/18/75 yes

Confidential

done 2-25-69

100-21213-55

SEARCHED _____ INDEXED _____
SERIALIZED _____ FILED _____
FEB 21 1969
FBI — ST. LOUIS

Sent _____ M Per _____

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 141

DIRECTOR, FBI 3-10-69

SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-21213) P

CONFIDENTIAL

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

Enclosed for the Bureau is a copy of an anonymous letter, with 2 enclosures, to be mailed to the Wentzville High School.

BACKGROUND:

FOIA(b)(6)

JAMES HAMILTON, WMA, 5560 Delmar, Apt. 9, SLMO, has attended SWP and YSA meetings in SLMO. Largely through the efforts of HAMILTON, a YSA chapter with 5 members was started in SLMO in 1/69. has been closely associated with HAMILTON and has advised that HAMILTON is employed as a high school Spanish teacher in Wentzville, Mo. and that HAMILTON is worried that his YSA activities would come to the attention of the high school's administration. (C)

A credit investigation at SLMO revealed that JAMES T. HAMILTON, DOB 5560 Delmar # 9, is employed as a teacher at the Wentzville High School. (C)

PROPOSED ACTION:

A letter would be anonymously mailed to the principal of the Wentzville High School and would provide enough information re HAMILTON's activities to enable high school officials to follow through with their own investigation.

A copy of the letter and 2 enclosures to the letter are attached. A common grade of stationary for the letter would be obtained and the letter would be mailed in Wentzville, Mo.

ANTICIPATED RESULTS:

It is felt that disclosure of HAMILTON's activities to his employer would at the least cause him embarrassment, and depending on the school administration's attitude, could result in HAMILTON's dismissal.

2 - Bureau (Encl. 3) RM
3 - St. Louis
(2 - 100-21213)
(1 - 100-20896)
MJW:wma
(5)

Classified by 3067 Rev By NW 6/14/77 2 100-21213-56
Exempt from GDS, Category
Date of Declassification Indefinite
Classified 1/6/75

CONFIDENTIAL

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 142

It is noted that no investigation has been conducted at St. Louis re HAMILTON (except credit which confirmed HAMILTON's position as a high school teacher).

Bureau authority is requested for SL to conduct a background investigation re subject in accordance with existing instructions.

CONFIDENTIAL

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 143

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698) 3/31/69

SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-21213) (P)

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT CONFIDENTIAL

Remylet, 1/8/69.

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

1. POTENTIAL COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

St. Louis informants have reported a split within SDS at Wash., University the Most active SDS Chapter in the SL Division. One group had developed a "Community House" and wishes to disassociate itself with SDS in name and its activities. Measures are now under consideration to widen the split between the 2 groups. SL will submit any such recommendations to the Bureau for approval in a separate communication.

2. PENDING COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

In a communication dated 2/14/69, the Bureau was advised that [redacted] and potential confidential source of the SL Division is a [redacted]

In a communication dated 2/20/69, the Bureau authorized the furnishing of [redacted] the copies of leaflets distributed by students at Washington University during disturbances at that school on 12/5 - 14/68. Also with any public source information which may be of assistance to him.

In a communication to the Bureau 12/16/68, the Bureau was advised that Mr. LYNN P. WEATHERMAN, Senior Editor, Community Press, weekly newspaper, St. Louis County, Mo., contacted the SL Office in an effort to do something to combat the "New Left" and particularly the SDS.

CONFIDENTIAL

Classified by 3069
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite

Declassified 5/31/77 per Bu

Classified 1/6/75

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - St. Louis
MJW:kmm
(4)

100-21213-57

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
FILED

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 144

SL: 100-21213

The indices of the SL Office were negative concerning Mr. WEATHERMAN and the only information in the indices identifiable with the Community Press was a copy of a letter addressed to Mr. HOOVER, 6/8/61, by a member of that publication congratulating Mr. HOOVER and offering that publication's service at any time. This letter was answered by the Bureau on 6/15/61, with enclosures, which had been requested in order that the paper could take measures in opposing the menace of Communism. Mr. WEATHERMAN was furnished with a copy of the SDS article appearing in the 10/68 issue of the Readers Digest and also a copy of the article entitled "An Analysis of the New Left: A Gospel of Nihilism". Mr. WEATHERMAN expressed considerable interest and stated he would consider writing an article about SDS and also an editorial.

In a communication dated 3/10/69, SL advised the Bureau that JAMES HAMILTON, a leader of YSA in SLMO, was worried that his YSA activities would come to the attention of his employer. This information was obtained from an informant in the SL Division. It was suggested that an anonymous letter be mailed to the attention of HAMILTON's employer setting forth information specific enough to identify HAMILTON's activities with YSA.

3. TANGIBLE RESULTS

Numerous anti-new-left editorials have appeared in SL newspapers which in part can be traced to information provided since the inception of this program with Bureau authority to news media contacts in SL.

State Representative RICHARD MARSHALL has several bills pending in the Missouri State House of Representatives which involve control of new-left activities on college campuses.

CONFIDENTIAL

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 145

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, St. Louis (100-21213) DATE: 3/28/69

FROM : Director, FBI (100-449698)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Reurlet 3/10/69.

Prior to authorizing the mailing of an anonymous letter to the principal of the high school at which Hamilton is employed, it is desired that you advise whether you have an established source at the Department of Education with whom you could discuss this matter on a confidential basis.

Should such a source be available, you should make no effort to contact him without prior Bureau authority. You should, however, advise as to the exact nature of the information you would be able to furnish him concerning Hamilton's attendance at SWP and YSA meetings, as well as evidence of his membership in the YSA. You should also comment as to whether or not the furnishing of such information would jeopardize your source.

You are authorized to institute an investigation of Hamilton in accordance with existing regulations contained in the Manual of Instructions. Such investigation should be conducted in such a manner as to preclude any possible embarrassment to the Bureau.

100-212,358

WEBER

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
MAR 29 1969
FBI—ST. LOUIS

NW: 15289 Docld: 70001143 Page 146

5010-108

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

Cover Sheet for Informant Report or Material
FD-306 (Rev. 3-13-68)

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

Date prepared: 10-31-68

Date received	Received from (name or symbol number)	Received by
10-26-68		SA MARTIN JOHN WEBER

Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

[X] in person [ ] by telephone [ ] by mail [ ] orally [ ] recording device [ ] written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:
Date

Dictated 10-26-68 to RUTH SMITH

Transcribed

Authenticated by Informant 10-30-68

Date of Report: 10-27-68

Date(s) of activity: 10-27-68

Brief description of activity or material

VISIT TO 4487 McPHERSON

File where original is located if not attached

* INDIVIDUALS DESIGNATED BY AN ASTERISK (*) ONLY ATTENDED A MEETING AND DID NOT ACTIVELY PARTICIPATE. VIOLENCE OR REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES WERE NOT DISCUSSED.

1-100-20910 (MARTY LIEBOWITZ)
1-100-19785 (SDS)
1-100-21213 (COINTEL)
(4)

index
Kathleen Sharon Malloy
Matt Skeen
Tom Barbee
Cathe Doty

100-21213-59
Block Stamp

~~100-21328-11~~

SEARCHED..... INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED..... FILED.....
NOV 4 1968
FBI — SAINT LOUIS

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 147

St. Louis, Missouri
October 23, 1968

Some of the individuals residing at 4047 (4487) Mc Pherson learned through a visit at that address were Kathleen Sharon Malloy, reported to be from Chicago, Illinois; Marty ~~Skein~~ Skeen; Tom Barbee; Marty Liebowitz; Terry Poe.

During this visit it was stated by Marty Skeen that Kathy Malloy had given Marty Liebowitz some money. Kathy Malloy volunteered the information that it was a check in the amount of $50. It was learned that the utilities had been shut off due to lack of payment. It was learned that Marty Liebowitz had returned with the information that the gas had been turned on. There presently is no telephone at the above address. It was learned that various people were moving out of the house and that David Sparenberg, his wife, and son Aaron, had moved out of the house, whereabouts unknown. Other person that has moved out of the house, ~~Kathi O'Day~~ G. BOTY (phonetic), reported to have gotten in good with a reporter from the Post Dispatch, and that her expenses are being paid by this reporter and possibly family.

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

[redacted]

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 148

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

Cover Sheet for Informant Report or M[redacted]l
FD-306 (Rev. 3-13-68)

Date prepared: 3-4-69

Date received	Received from *(name or symbol number)*	Received by
3-3-69		Martin John Ulsler

Method of delivery *(check appropriate blocks)*

☐ in person ☐ by telephone ☐ by mail ☐ orally ☐ recording device ☒ written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:
Date
Dictated _____ to _____
Transcribed _____
Authenticated by Informant _____

Date of Report: 3-2-69

Date(s) of activity: 3-2-69

Brief description of activity or material: YSA meeting 3-2-69

File where original is located if not attached:

* INDIVIDUALS DESIGNATED BY AN ASTERISK (*) ONLY ATTENDED A MEETING AND DID NOT ACTIVELY PARTICIPATE. VIOLENCE OR REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES WERE NOT DISCUSSED.

1-100-19750 (YSA)
1-100-21293 (O'Nasch)
1-100-~~21364~~ 21364 (Larry Swingle)
1-100-20896 (Jim Hamilton)
1-100-21539 (Rosemary Hamilton)
1-100-21306 (Williams)
1-105-5909 (ACTION)
1-100-~~21363~~ 21363 (Tony Saper)
1-100-21337 (Helen Savio)
1-157- (Ruth Poland)
1-157-6018 (Barnes)
1-100-19532 (Green)
1-157-5872 (BPP)
1-100-21362 (Joe Scoggin)
1-100-~~21347~~ 21347 (Allison Hall)
1-100-21213 (COINTELPRO)
1-100-19785 (SDS)
1-100-20911 (Freer)

Index
Peggy Swingle
Barbara Saper
Howard Petrick
Charlene Burso
Bill Dean
James P. Cannon
Michael King
~~Barbara Printy~~

Block Stamp

100-21213-60
SEARCHED.....INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....FILED.....
MAR 6 1969
FBI — SAINT LOUIS

NW: 15289 Docld: 70001143 Page 149

March 2nd, 1969 Approx 11:53 AM (Sunday)
Observed Bill Onasch at the apartment of
Larry Swingle 2986 Lawton (~~upstairs~~ upstairs).
Swingle was not home.
Onasch and Poe waited in Onasch's car; a
black 63 V.W. with sunroof. - no license plate.
at approx. 12:00 o'clock PM. Jim Hamilton arrived in
68? Renault sedan, driven by his wife Rosemary.
(Rosemary departed - with car.
Approx 12:10 P.M. Earl Williams arrived.
A meeting of the 4 mentioned persons took place
in Onasch's V.W. At approx 12:15 Larry Swingle
returned; at which time the meeting moved to
his apartment.
First on the agenda was the action activist
group. Due to a split (one group who believed that
they had done more toward ~~[redacted]~~ the
uniting the people to a revolutionary take over
decided to change the name of the paper to
struggle. (Larry gave the report and said
that he had just recently became a voting
member) They want to be able to act on their
own without intervention from the other groups.
the people for struggle

[redacted]

This group is believed to be comprized of nine members. some of them are Larry & Peggy Swingle, Barbara & Tony Saber. two colored members one believed to be male first name John LNU. the other a Negro female (NU). also possibly Helen Savio & Ruth Pollen?, and Precious possibly Barnes. it was stated by Larry when Earl Williams requested Precious' phone number that he (Precious) was such an important leader in the group that he had an unlisted number. 2 numbers were given orally by Larry to Earl as the unlisted number. they were MO4-6813 & MO48329 it was believed that the MO48329 number is the one in current use.

It was believed that with the 9 voting members on their side (the side for struggle). they could block any opposition that would be given by Percy (believed to be Green) statement made by Larry. It was also stated by Larry that he tried to probe or test Precious on his political views by asking him what he thought of the efforts to organize a Black Panther party in S.T.L. according to Larry, Precious thought that the efforts were worth while and it would be good if a party could be organized.

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 151

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

Faccord with the Action group, Earl Williams is working to Organize a Black political party. this may be an expansion of the B.P.P.
Earl stated that he would be meeting with representatives or supporters from this area on Sun 3/2/69 at approx 5 P.M. (location unknown) to discuss the (afore mentioned) issue. One person that is believed will be in attendance is Joe Scoggin. (previously stated to have been connected with the Black Liberators S.L.)

At this time a discussion about getting a room for the next S.T.L.C.E.W. meeting (began) took place. Onasch stated that he believed Allison Hall to be unreliable and that someone else should be recruited to get the room on campus when need.
Earl Williams stated the he had contacted Allison about getting a room for this week (3/5/69)
~~It~~ this statement (& fact) seemed to displease Bill Onasch, he felt that Earl had taken unauthorized authority in acting on his own (he did not talk with Onasch before he asked Allison to get the room) Earl said that since he was around Allison more than any other member of the group he thought he should ask her to get the room.
Onasch said that in the future any time Allison contacted any member on party business

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 152
FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

that that member should refer her to himself (Bill Onasch) the organizer.

Jim Hamilton said that he had also contacted someone about getting a room the name given was Charlen Burteaux Buscaut (Burso phoenetic). It was stated by Onasch that on April 1-2-69. retired P.M.T. or P.F.C. Harry or Howard Petric would be touring S.T.L. on various speeking engagements. Bill said this would be a good and add support the April 6 Demo. It was agreed that a letter would be written to the N.O. in New York to concretize the engagement for that date.

(It was stated that the subject of transportation would be discussed at Wed. meeting + that Bill Dean was to take care of that (check Bus Station for fares. ?

A letter that was received at the N.O. was read before the assembly it was supposed to have been sent to Bill by Susan from the N.O. It was written by a person who said he was still in the service ~~Fort~~ stationed in S.T.L. He extolled the Y.S.A. & S.W.P. he requested more info on the Organization, sub. rates to the Militant and a price list of Socialist publications.

It was stated that he has read either the publications America's Road to Socialism or Socialism on Trial (both are works of James P. Cannon National Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, and founding editor of Militant

From the letter it was stated that he-the writer- had read copies of the Militant that he had obtained at the Library (ST. LOUIS PUBLIC.) The letter was signed Fraternally yours Michael Keen or King 30 plaza Square Apt 405 St Louis

It was decided that either Onasch or Hamilton would send a telegram of support & solidarity to Barbara Prischey ? M.U. S.D.S. said to be organizer & leader of S.D.S. at M.U.) for their recent efforts against the power structure.

W.U. S.D.S. has not answered Y.S.A.'s challenge to a debate (it has been 4 wks. since letter was written).

Richard Freer became the topic of a discussion Hamilton said it would be best if he packed up & left town, he is too much of an isolationist, unreliable, and becoming ultra extremist paranoid.

It is believed that Y.S.A. has 17.66 in treasury. ~~And~~ earlier figure quoted by E.W was 136.60/100.

FOIA(b)(7)(D) DocId: 70001143 Page 154

Larry Swingle said it would be good if E.W.J. would contact the 25 Black Veterans who covered the Flag at Webster College. and try to bring them in to the Black movement & R.W.L.C.P.

E.B. is treasure & in charge of Black Projects,
J.H. is in charge of Contacts, & the Militant
L.S. is secretary.
B.O. is Organizer & in charge of Anti-War.
T.P. is in charge of literature. [meetings -
Anti War (G.I.s & Civilians against war) 3/5/69.
Myth of Israel 3/10/69.

meeting adjourned approx 2:05 P.M.
Sun/3/2/69.

P.S. next meeting W.S.A.
3/9/69 Earl Williams 4734 LE Duo.
St. Louis, Mo.

3/2/69.

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 155

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006) 7/11/69

SAC, ST. LOUIS (157-5818) P

[redacted]

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
NEW LEFT MOVEMENT

Enclosed for the Bureau are three copies of Storm Warnings, a "right-wing pamphlet" prepared by the St. Louis Division.

BACKGROUND

The enclosed pamphlet was prepared by the St. Louis Division utilizing the terminology and illustrations of a typical "right-wing" publication. This area has been the scene of some degree of "right-wing" activity directed against local New Left groups and peace organizations. The St. Louis PD are currently investigating acts of vandalism committed by unknown persons against the St. Louis Peace Information Center.

While no real organized "right-group" group in the area has any apparent strong public support, the two communities of Hazelwood and Florissant in St. Louis County have traditionally been fertile grounds for the John Birch Society, etc... The illustrations in Storm Warnings have been culled from a patriotic flyer called The American Revelation which is printed and distributed in Hazelwood.

The purpose of Storm Warnings is to alert the reader to both the known and the relatively unknown agitators in the St. Louis area. It is sprinkled with factual inaccuracies and exaggerations in order to carry out the theme as a typical "right-winger" might write it, and also to eliminate any suspicion that any official investigating agency assisted in the preparation. It is not felt that Storm Warnings contains any information which an astute "right-winger" might not learn or guess on his own.

3 - Bureau (Enc. 3) RM
2 - St. Louis
(1- 157-5818)
(1- 100-21213)
JAF:mck
(5)

[redacted]

[redacted]

INDEXED
FILED

[redacted]

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 156

100-21213-61

SL: #157-5818

RECOMMENDATION

St. Louis purposes to prepare 100 copies on commercial paper and mail them anonymously from Hazelwood, Mo. to various "right-wing" organizations and individuals in the area.

The enclosed samples were prepared on Xerox machine although the 100 copies will be prepared on multilith machine.

It is anticipated that the mailing will accomplish the following desirable results:

1. It will alert the "right-wing" groups to the relatively unknown agitators in the area.

2. It may detract from the support and influence of such notables as BARRY COMMONER and RICHARD HAZELTON in the various legitimate organizations in which they hold membership.

3. It will concentrate the public opposition against the key Communists and Militants in the area and help them to focus on "the enemy".

4. Should this pamphlet come to the attention of the New Left (as it well may) it is felt that deciding how to deal with it and discussing the effect of it will keep the New Left in time-consuming efforts that will detract from the energy and time usually spent in plotting, recruiting and fund-raising.

Bureau authority is requested to initiate the above-described counter-intelligence project.

[redacted]

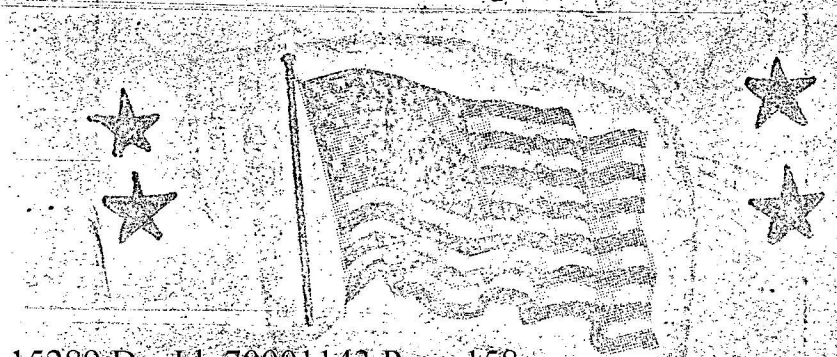
NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 157

OCIE PASTARD

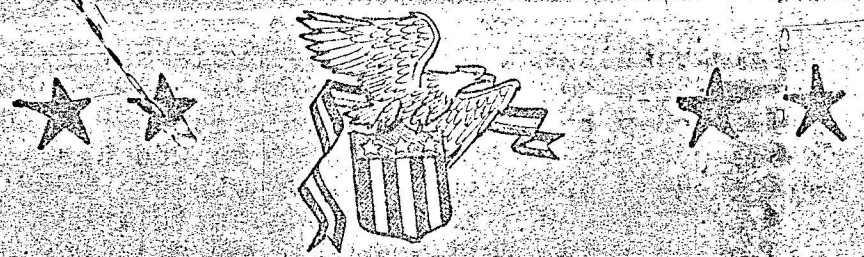
Fresh from the riot coals of the Watts Rebellion came Pastard to St. Louis where the Liberal dimwits who dominate the local Christian churches promptly set him up as the head of Mid-City Community Congress. In this job he makes $15,000 a year; his duties consists of supervising two employees and making speeches to local groups where he preaches Black Power and Revolution. The Globe-Democrat reported he recently got a $4,000 yearly scholarship from the Danforth Foundation, which isn't bad for a guy who got booted out of the Army on a "psycho" discharge.

RICHARD HAZELTON

An old-time English prof at Washington University who mixes Stalin with Shakespears, Hazelton is the "Dean Emeritus" of the campus arsonists and rioters. His leadership and financial support provide the impetus of every left-wing student group including DuBois Club and SDS. With Hershell Walker of the Commuist Party, he runs the Peace Information Center. He is in the thick of every anti-U.S. demonstration and usually accompanied by his 20 year old Japanese mistress, Mary Gorman, a teacher at Webster Groves College.



NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 158



STORM WARNINGS

No. 2 in a continuing series of reports to alert all Patriots to the Red Menace!!

KNOW YOUR ENEMY !!

The purpose of this handy booklet is to acquaint loyal area residents with the identities, plots, and backgrounds of the local Communist Functionaries, Black Extremists, and Student Agitators who are plotting daily the complete destruction of our Society, our Government, and our American Way of Life!

A very wise man once said, "All that is necessary for the triumph of Evil is that good men do nothing." Unless we act now to contain these Apostles of Anarchy and Disciples of Destruction, our American White Christian Civilization is headed for certain doom!

It is the duty of every Patriot to identify the enemy and frustrate his every plot.

BARRY COMMONER

This Washington University professor has been a dedicated Commie since his high school days. Today he channels University funds into the pockets of Student Rioters and his own finances into the local Communist Party coffers. His home is always open to local revolutionaries, regard of age or attitude. He likes to disguise himself as a noted scientiest, conservationist, and has even wormed his way to head up the "Baby Tooth roject" locally.

KATHERINE DUNHAM

From the East St. Louis campus of Southern Illinois University, Dunham drags her African Dance Troups across the Mississippi River disguised as a "Black Power" exponent. In reality Dunham has supported Commie Front groups since 1930 and she and her dance troupe and schools have been generous contributors to every Moscow and Peking cause that bubbles up. She puts a peaceful face forward while she channels SIU funds into the Black Panther treasuries and she arranges for local Black Extremists to fly around the U.S. to spread their poison at SIU expence.

HERSHELL WALKER

The Globe-Democrat has identified this shrewd Black Militant as the head of the Missouri Communist Party. A lifelong resident of our fair city, Walker is known to every Pinko in the United States, although true to the Red philosophy he remains nearly nearly unknown locally. Walker instead uses several Red Front groups to accomplish his aims, the most successful being the St. Louis Peace Information Center on Delmar Avenue.

NW 13289 Docid: 70001143 Page 159

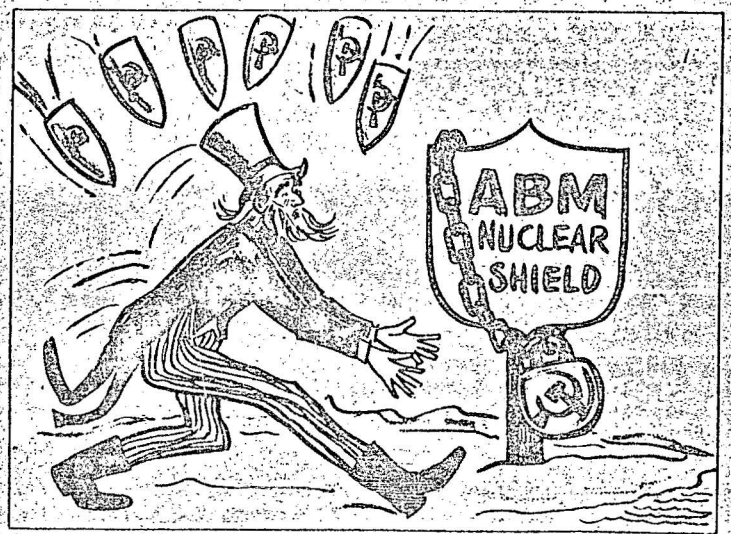
YUSUF SHABAZZ

This Black Extremist called himself John Ellington before he came to St. Louis to fan the flames of racial discord. According to those who know him, he is a part-time forger and full-time agitator. He now controls the Black Liberators, the Zulu's, and the Black Muslims. He does not associate with Communists because he considers them "too tame."

MARTIN LIEBOWITZ

A New York Jew at Washington University, this Draft-Dodger and SDS Kingpin directs the student rioters, draft resistors, and campus anarchists from his "Free House" at 4487 McPherson. He goes to college on a full scholarship no less and local Reds and Pinkos are his constant companions. He wants to start a chain of hippie houses through the Midwest so he can peddle his subversive literature and narcotics.

DO THE REDS HAVE A LOCK ON AMERICAN SURVIVAL?



DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006) 5/26/69

SAC, ST. LOUIS (157-5818)(P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
NEW LEFT MOVEMENT

Classified by 3069
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite

Enclosed for the Bureau are three copies of a letter to the editor by STAUGHTON LYND, a New Left spokesman from Chicago, Ill., which letter appeared in the 5/17/69 issue of "Guardian", an independent radical news weekly published in New York, N. Y. The St. Louis Division feels that the current "battle" which is being waged between JULIUS LESTER, black correspondent and former SNCC functionary, and KATHLEEN CLEAVER of the Black Panther Party, which is being waged on the pages of the "Guardian", is a very good subject for potential counterintelligence.

The enclosed letter by STAUGHTON LYND, which tends to put the Black Panther Party in a very poor light, especially from the point of view of the New Left, mentions the confrontation between SNCC and the Black Panther Party when armed Black Panthers charged into the office of JAMES FORMAN.

It is felt that the widest possible dissemination of this letter should be effected among all New Left officers and rank and file. It is felt that this dissemination would have a two-fold effect. First, inasmuch as LYND is one of the primary spokesmen and leaders of the entire New Left Movement, it is felt that his influence would cause the New Left rank and file to greatly decrease their support of the Black Panthers and would regard the Black Panthers with extreme suspicion. Secondly, it is felt that this dissemination will add fuel to the fire which currently exists in this Black Panther-SDS rift, and it is conceivable that it would seriously wreck any degree of cooperation existing between the Black Panther Party and the white members of the New Left.

CONFIDENTIAL

While the ultimate decision should be made by the Bureau as to how to effect this wide distribution, St. Louis is of the opinion that one of the most effective ways would

2 - Bureau (Encls. 3)(RM)
1 - Chicago (Encl. 1)(RM)
1 - New York (Encl. 1)(RM)
4 - St. Louis (2 - 157-5818)
JAF/mal (4 - 100-21213)
(8)

Weber

RECORDED
INDEXED
SERIALIZED
FILED

100-21213-62

NW: 15289 Docid: 70001143 Page 100

be for the New York Division to prepare copies of the letter and anonymously mail it to addresses of New Left organizations and members, which addresses would have to be furnished by the individual divisions.

Copies of this article are also enclosed for the information of Chicago and New York.

CONFIDENTIAL

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 161

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006) 6-3-69

SAC, ST. LOUIS (157-5818) P

CONFIDENTIAL

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re SL let to Bureau, 2-26-69.

The following information is submitted regarding counterintelligence activity (Black Nationalist) for the previous 90 days in accordance with Bureau instructions:

1. Operations Under Consideration

By letter dated 5-26-69, this Division recommended that STAUGHTON LYNN's letter to the Guardian, which criticized the Black Panther Party, be given the widest possible dissemination among New Left officers and rank and file.

2. Operations Being Effected

There are no counterintelligence operations currently being effected.

3. Tangible Results

Since November, 1968, three separate counterintelligence operations by this division succeeded in driving a wedge between CHARLES KOEN and LEON H. DENT of the Black Liberators. DENT eventually seized control of the Black Liberators and this division predicted in letter dated 1-24-69, under the above caption, the Black Liberators will collapse if DENT takes over. He did and they did.

In a separate operation, this Division effected an anonymous letter to KOEN's wife accusing him of infidelity, a copy of which letter ultimately reached KOEN. Since the

3 - Bureau (RM)
2 - St. Louis (1 - 157-5818)
(1 - 100-21213)

JAF:amb
(5)

~~Classified by 3087~~
~~Exempt from GDS Category 2~~
~~Date of Declassification Indefinite~~
~~Classified 11-6-75~~

100-21213-
~~157-5818~~ 63

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED mel
INDEXED
FILED mel

French

CONFIDENTIAL

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 162

receipt of the letter KOEN left East St. Louis, Ill., went directly to Cairo, Ill., to rejoin his wife, and has remained there for about two months. It is presumed he is spending some of his talent and energy "patching up" the marital difficulties this letter caused.

In April, 1969, this Division created and distributed about 200 copies of Blackboard, a purported "underground" newspaper of Southern Illinois University black students. It created an apparent stir in the black community and it put HENRY THOMAS and YUSUF SHABAZZ in a very poor light in the eyes of the Negro community. SHABAZZ was so angry about it he "blew his cool" at a meeting of ACTION (local Negro activist group) and he succeeded in getting an invitation from local Black militants "to leave town." Furthermore, the stature of DORI and JOYCE LADNER has been greatly decreased in the Negro community.

4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest

ACTION, a local Negro activist group, together with the local chapter of Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) until recently co-published a newsletter called ACTION ATTACK NEWS which was renamed The Struggle.

Recently ACTION and YSA discontinued their cooperation in this project over some ideological dispute and ACTION now publishes it themselves, having changed its name back to ACTION ATTACK NEWS.

This matter is being explored for potential counterintelligence activity and should a satisfactory plan be developed, Bureau authority will be requested to initiate it.

CONFIDENTIAL

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 163

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

Missouri House Backs Campus Crackdown

By DONALD TAPPERSON
A Staff Correspondent of the Post-Dispatch

JEFFERSON CITY, June 6 — Amid charges of grandstanding for folks back home, the Missouri House gave tentative approval yesterday to a bill to impose strict penalties on students who engage in disruptive activities. The bill has virtually no chance of enactment.

Only 24 of the 148 Representatives in the chamber voted against the bill after the House spent nearly three hours debating it and numerous amendments. With three weeks left before adjournment, only extraordinary treatment could bring enactment of the measure.

Representative Kenneth J. Rothman (Dem.), Clayton, described the measure in debate as hysteria legislation. He told his colleagues, "I don't know whether we are perfecting a bill or preparing our platforms for re-election."

He was among several lawmakers who asserted that existing laws are strong enough to cope with campus disturbances.

The bill would subject persons engaging in disruptive activities to a fine of $25 to $200 and jail sentences of 10 days to six months. On conviction of a second offense, a student would be barred from attending a state-supported school for two years.

The House accepted a committee-proposed amendment that would extend the law to all public schools rather than only colleges and universities and would ban from campuses all firearms and explosives unless authorized by school authorities.

The House Education Committee sent the bill to the House floor this week, putting it at the bottom of the calendar of bills awaiting preliminary consideration. The House agreed yesterday to take the measure out of order before striking all of the other bills on the calendar.

Representative James I. Spainhower (Dem.), Marshall, chairman of the Education Committee, said on the floor that he supported the bill but expressed disappointment that more emphasis had not been placed on a resolution on student dissent drafted by his committee and approved earlier by the House.

The resolution contained a strong condemnation of campus disorders and illegal student activities but called on school administrators and the public to recognize the legitimate grievances from which student activism springs.

It was, in effect, the committee's response to disorders at Lincoln University last month and its alternative to numerous bills on student dissenters introduced early this session.

Referring to the bill tentatively approved yesterday, Spainhower said" If we had this law on the books, what could the Governor and the Attorney General have done that they didn't do at Lincoln."

Representative George L. Donegan (Rep.), Springfield, sought unsuccessfully to amend the bill to require college administrators and faculty to call police onto campuses promptly whenever disruptive activity was begun.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

St. Louis Globe Democrat, St. Louis, Missouri
St. Louis Post-Dispatch, St. Louis, Missouri
8A
St. Louis Argus, St. Louis, Missouri

Date: 6-6-69
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: St. Louis

☐ Being Investigated

100-21213-64

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
JUN 11 1969
FBI—ST. LOUIS

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 164

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

MARXISTS GRAB NEW LEFT

By J. EDGAR HOOVER

Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation

AS THE CURRENT academic year draws to a close, it should be readily apparent that the students in the New Left revolutionary movement are not on college campuses to seek education. Rather, this conglomerate of malcontents is engineering a drive to destroy our educational system.

HOOVER

More and more, the New Left is being controlled by the followers of Karl Marx through the Old Left organizations of the Communist Party, USA (pro-Moscow), the Progressive Labor Party (pro-Peking), and the Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyites). Not since the New Left came into being has the influence of Marxism-Leninism been so strong.

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), largest of the New Left groups, is rapidly gaining a definite Marxist-Leninist coloration. At the SDS National Council meeting in Austin, Tex., in March, one of the organization's top leaders was quoted as stating, "Our primary task is to build a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary movement."

* * *

WHILE THE NEW LEFT movement may or may not make the dean's list this year, it rates an A plus in revolutionary exploits.

The SDS and its adherents have rocked campuses from coast to coast with violence, riots, and sabotage. At the SDS National Convention last summer a workshop on violence and explosives was held.

Literature explaining how explosive devices can be manufactured and used against Selective Service installations, ROTC buildings, and university facilities has been distributed. The results are a disgrace to a society which owes its very existence to democratic processes under the rule of law.

Many of the criminal acts of the New Left were, and are, committed as expressions of rights under the first amendment. Corruption of the first amendment would be a better term for such antics. Certainly, free speech and dissent are not synonymous with despotic obstruction and force. The wild and insatiable demands of the New Left for unlawful power and its blind determination to silence and destroy all who stand in its way are tyrannical acts of the first order.

Under the first amendment, a person may hire a hall and speak on any subject to as many people as he can persuade to listen. However, he has no right to disrupt classes and assemblies and prevent other persons from hearing a speaker of their choice.

Neither the New Left nor any other group should be allowed to plunder, riot, and terrorize our educational institutions and impose its will upon a majority of students who do not share its views.

Crime under the ivy-covered arches of a college campus is no more excusable than crime in our city streets.

SDS leaders know that if a revolution is to be brought about, they must inject more discipline and organization into the movement; the anti-discipline, freewheeling, individualistic, anarchistic mood of the New Left must be controlled and molded into a strong, centralized, Marxist-Leninist revolutionary force. The Old Left groups, of course, are working hard to capture at least a part of the movement.

* * *

THE PRO-PEKING Progressive Labor Party (PLP) already has a strong beachhead inside the national SDS. On some key issues, the PLP comes close to having enough strength to swing votes in national meetings.

While considerable factionalism now exists within SDS ranks on "how to bring about a revolution," the pro-Peking, the pro-Moscow, and the Trotskyites all agree on one major point — students alone cannot bring about a revolution. One well-known Communist youth leader wrote, "We must view the worker-student alliance as a mutual necessity and do everything in our power to insure its growth and endurance."

The PLP and the Trotskyites also supported similar linkage of the students and "workers."

Not all SDS members accept the Old Left organizations. Many feel that SDS can promote a viable revolutionary youth program without stringent controls and free of parental tutelage from a foreign or internal Marxist party.

Whether this is possible or not remains to be seen, and the answer may be decided at the SDS National Convention this summer, where this issue will be bitterly and hotly contested.

Meanwhile, a basic fact looms. Never before in this country has there been such a strong revolutionary Marxist movement of young people which is so eager to destroy established authority.

Furthermore, the New Left movement has made it emphatically clear that mere change and revision are not its objectives. Armed with a long list of "non-negotiable" demands, its immediate goal is the complete overthrow and control of our educational system. We all know what its ultimate goal is.

Concessions and appeasements will not satisfy those bent on anarchy and nihilism. America should take note before it is too late.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

16A St. Louis Globe-Democrat

Date: 6-18-69
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: SLMO

☐ Being Investigated

100-51213-65

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED
JUN 1 9 1969
FBI — ST. LOUIS

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698) 6/27/69

SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-21213) P* CONFIDENTIAL

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
NEW LEFT MOVEMENT

Re St. Louis let to Bureau, 3/31/69.

1. POTENTIAL COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

SL is considering mailing letters to the parents of students who have participated in SDS activities. The students would be chosen so as to include those who would appear to be from middle class, pro-American homes. The contents of the letter would state that SDS, a Revolutionary Youth Movement, appreciates the support of the student and his/her parents. It might become necessary for some SDS members to stay at the parents' home for short periods while organizing in their area.

Should this approach seem fruitful after study, it will be submitted to the Bureau for approval in a separate communication.

2. PENDING COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

In a communication dated 5/26/69, entitled Counter-intelligence Program Black Nationalist - Hate Groups New Left Movement, the Bureau was advised of a letter appearing in the 5/17/69 issue of the "Guardian" which characterized the "battle" being waged between JULIUS LESTER and KATHLEEN CLEAVER. The letter, by STAUGHTON LYND, tends to put the Black Panther Party in a bad light. SL suggested the widest possible dessemination of this letter be effected among all New Left officers and rank and file.

3. TANGIBLE RESULTS.

Numerous Anti-New Left editorials have appeared in SL newspapers which in part could be traced to information provided, since the inception of this program with Bureau authority to established news media contacts in SL.

2 - Bureau RM
2 - St. Louis
MJW:mck
(4)

CONFIDENTIAL

Classified by 1506
Exempt from GDS, Category
Date of Declassification Indefinite

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
FILED

NW: 15289 DocId: 7000143 Page 1

100-21213-66

DIRECTOR FBI (100-448006) 6-27-69

SAC, ST. LOUIS (157-5818) (P)

[redacted]

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
NEW LEFT

Re SL let to Bureau, 5-26-69
Bureau let to NY, 6-2-69

Enclosed for New York is copy of list of individuals and and organizations affiliated with New Left in St. Louis

In accordance with Bureau instructions, New York is requested to anonymously mail copies of STAUGHTON LYNN's letter concerning the Black Panther Party to each of the individuals and groups on the attached list.

Bureau will advised of any positive results of this counterintelligence activity.

[redacted]

[redacted]

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - New York (enc 1) (RM)
2 - St. Louis
(1 - 157-5818)
(1 - 100-21213)
(6)
JAF:jaf

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
FILED

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 167

100-21213-67

Mark Antell
726 Westgate
St. Louis, Mo. 63112

Audrey Aronson
1318 Sheridan
St. Louis, Mo. 63109

Lois Bock
76 W. Swan
Webster Groves, Mo. 63119

Precious Barnes
2808 Rutger
St. Louis, Mo. 63104

Stephen Best
6943 Amherst
St. Louis, Mo. 63130

Dan I. Bolef
6612 Waterman
St. Louis, Mo. 63108

Howard Bookbinder
7150 Pershing
St. Louis, Mo. 63130

Herman Camenzind
3451 Wyoming
St. Louis, Mo. 63118

Harry Cargas
127 Park Ave.
St. Louis, Mo. 63122

Catholic Comm. on VietNam
Fordham University
Box 675
Bronx, N.Y. 10458

Frank P. Cihlar
SLU Law School
3642 Lindell Blvd
St. Louis, Mo. 63108

Comm. for Environmental
Information
641 N. Skinker
St. Louis, Mo. 63108

Barry Commoner
25 Crestwood Drive
St. Louis, Mo. 63130

David Darst
4253 Clarence
St. Louis, Mo. 63112

Marshall Dinowitz
5507 Waterman
St. Louis, Mo. 63108

Rev. Carl Dudley
Berear Pres. Church
3010 Olive
St. Louis, Mo. 63103

Martin Liebowitz
4487 McPherson
St. Louis, Mo. 63108

Dr. Joe Eyner
6802 Waterman
St. Louis, Mo. 63108

Rory Ellinger
567 E. Jackson
Webster Groves, Mo. 63119

Rev. Robt. Epps
740 DeMun
St. Louis, Mo.63105

Freedom of Residence
5868½ Delmar
St. Louis, Mo. 63108

Jerome Garger
Dept. of English
Forest Park Comm. College
St. Louis, Mo. 63108

Jim Hamilton
5560 Delmar, Apt. 9
St. Louis, Mo. 63108

Rev. Roger Harless
12396 Hollister Dr.
Bridgeton, Mo. 63042

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 168

Richard Hazelton
662 Vassar
University City, Mo. 63130

Ken Holder
5877 Nina Place
St. Louis, Mo. 63112

Terry Koch
765 Westwood Dr.
Clayton, Mo. 63124

Dori Ladner
5925 Washington, Apt 3W
St. Louis, Mo. 63112

Dr. Theo. Lentz
5937 Enright
St. Louis, Mo. 63113

Ted Lewis
415 W. Kirkham
St. Louis, Mo. 63110

Yvonne Logan
36 S. Gore
Webber Groves, Mo. 63119

Dr. Sol Londe
7320 Colgate
St. Louis, Mo. 63130

Rev. Bill Matheus
St. Stephens
14th & Park
St. Louis, Mo. 63104

Joe Niekar
57 N. Bompart
St. Louis, Mo. 63115

Dr. Leonard Rosen
5 University Lane
St. Louis, Mo. 63108

Helen Savio
2910 Lawton Pl.
St. Louis, Mo. 63103

Al Schatz
6644 Waterman
St. Louis, Mo. 63130

Richard Stith
Florissant Vally Comm. College
3400 Pershall Rd
Florissant, Mo. 63031

Leonard Tinker
1336 Midland
St. Louis, Mo. 63130

Phil Traynor
3701 Lindell
St. Louis, Mo. 63108

David Scott
P.O. Box 1743
St. Louis, Mo. 63199

Walt Williamson
17-A N. Spring
St. Louis, Mo. 63108

CONFIDENTIAL

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 169

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006) 9/2/69

SAC, ST. LOUIS (157-5818) P

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re SL let to Bureau, 6/3[illegible]/69.

The following information is submitted regarding the counterintelligence activities (Black Extremists) by the St. Louis Division in the past 90 days:

1. Operations Under Consideration

By letter dated 7/11/69, this Division sent in a pamphlet entitled "STORM WARNINGS" which was prepared by the Division as though a "right-wing" organization locally had published it. It exposed and ridiculed local Black Extremists and Communists. Certain questions were raised by the Bureau in regard to the pamphlet and revisions are being sent by St. Louis with a view toward obtaining Bureau authority to initiate this counterintelligence program.

2. Operations Being Effected

By letter dated 6/3/69 to New York, the Bureau authorized New York to send an anonymous mailing of STAUTON LYNN's letter which criticized the Black Panther Party. St. Louis letter to Bureau dated 6/27/69 provided New York with a list of 42 individuals and groups to which New York was to mail the letter. St. Louis sources have not reported any of the individuals or groups receiving this letter but New York may not have completed this activity inasmuch as St. Louis included one of its confidential postal boxes in the list given to New York, and no such letter has been received at this box.

~~Classified By 3047~~ 100-21213-68
~~Declassify On: 11 6 75~~ 157-5818-69

3 - Bureau (RM)
2 - New York (RM)
2 - St. Louis
1 - 157-5818
1 - 100-21213
JAF: pdp
(7)

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
FILED

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 170

3. Tangible Results

The counterintelligence program regarding the "Blackboard" newspaper handled this spring by this Division apparently completely "destroyed" HENRY THOMAS as a racial figure of any consequence. THOMAS, who was an extremely active and vocal leader prior to this activity, is practically an "unknown" and has been completely neutralized.

4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest

ACTION, a local Black activist group whose membership includes both Negroes and whites, is at the present time the only Black group of any significance other than the NOI. This Division is considering the best way to exploit differences among the membership with a view toward decreasing the group's effectiveness.

With the new school year starting soon, various Black and white student groups will be watched most closely for any attempts at violence. Any such group will be a target for counterintelligence activity and Bureau authority will be requested when positive plans are developed.

[redacted]

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 171

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006) 12/5/69

SAC, ST. LOUIS (157-5818) P

[redacted]

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

The following information is submitted regarding the counterintelligence activities (Black Extremists) by the St. Louis Division in the past 90 days:

1. Operations Under Consideration

None.

2. Operations Being Effected

By letter dated 10/1/69, St. Louis Division withdrew its recommendation for authorization to distribute anonymously copies of the pamphlet entitled "Storm Warnings", in view of the fact that the background information requested by the Bureau would involve contacts with over 100 separate municipalities, and it is not deemed economically feasible to complete this survey.

By letter dated 11/6/69, the St. Louis Division requested authorization to distribute copies of an editorial which appeared in a local newspaper, which editorial was critical of ACTION, a local black activist group, and ACTION's opposition to the Veiled Prophet Ball. By letter dated 11/17/69, the Bureau declined to authorize the mailing of the above-described material.

There were no other counterintelligence activities for which St. Louis requested authorization during the pertinent period.

Classified by 3067
Exempt from GDS, Category
Date of Declassification Indefinite
Classified

3 - Bureau (RM)
2 - St. Louis (1 - 157-5818)
(1 - 100-21213)

JAF:jmb
(5)

100-21213-69
SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
FILED

[redacted]

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 172

3. Tangible Results

In response to a St. Louis request, the Bureau on 6/3/69 authorized the New York Division to send an anonymous mailing of STAUTON LYNN's letter which criticized the Black Panther Party. These letters were apparently not mailed until the last week of September, 1969, and apparently the time lapse between the date of STAUTON LYNN's letter and its anonymous dissemination in the St. Louis area was sufficient to blunt the effectiveness of this particular article. While no specific information has been received from informants and sources as to the actual comments from the local New Left figures, it is apparent that there is no strong support in the St. Louis area among the New Left extremists for the Black Panther Party. This is further evidenced by the fact that there has been no serious attempt of any kind to formulate a Black Panther Chapter in this Division despite the fact that the St. Louis metropolitan area has a high Negro population and presumably has sufficient black militants who might be interested in such an organization.

4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest

ACTION, described above, continues to be the only black group of any significance other than the Nation of Islam in the St. Louis Division. This Division is continuing to research various counterintelligence activities which would be effective against this organization, and when another specific plan is developed, Bureau authority will be requested to initiate same by separate communication.

CONFIDENTIAL

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 173

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698) 1/19/70

SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-21213)

CONFIDENTIAL

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Enclosed for the Bureau are 4 copies of a letter (Obscene) prepared by the SL Division under captioned program.

BACKGROUND

BENJAMIN ISRAEL, who has recently been recommended for inclusion on the SI, considers himself the leader of the Weatherman faction of SDS in the SL area. Reliable sources have advised that ISRAEL has little support and there is no Weatherman organization or Weatherman meetings in the SL area. ISRAEL did participate in the October 8-11, 1969 Weatherman demonstrations in Chicago, Ill., and was arrested 11/15/69, in Washington,D.C., during Moritorium activities, and advised SL sources that he attended the Weatherman National Council Meeting in Flint, Michigan, 12/69. On 12/16/69, ISRAEL "debated" a member of the John Birch Society at a local SL community college during which "debate" ISRAEL espoused the standard Weatherman philosophy of liberation through struggle.

ISRAEL'S parents were interviewed during a ARL investigation re ISRAEL at which time it was observed that ISRAEL'S parents expressed liberal viewpoints and generally condoned their son's activities.

The ACTION Guerilla Force is the youthful arm of ACTION, a local Black Activist Group whose members engage in acts of civil disobedience and disruption.

4 - Bureau (Encl. 4) (RM)
(1 - 100-448006)
3 - St. Louis (2 - 100-21213)
(1 - 157-5818)

MJW:ck
(7)

100-21213-70

CONFIDENTIAL

Classified by 3047
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of declassification indefinite

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
FILED

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 174

The Guerilla members are expected to participate in vandalism and other acts of harrassment against firms which ACTION regards as "white racist institutions". Most ACTION Guerillas are sons of ACTION adult members and have juvenile criminal records.

RECOMMENDATION

SL proposes to mail the enclosed letter to BEN ISRAEL, using commercial paper and envelope, at his home which is also his parents residence, 921 Shandel, University City, Mo.

It is anticipated this mailing would accomplish the following results:

1. Make ISRAEL question further the possible "support" for the Weatherman in SL.

2. Allow ISRAEL'S parents(who appeared to be very protective of their only son) to consider the possible results of ISRAEL'S activities.

If ISRAEL should contact ACTION re the letter the mailing would probably have the additional benefit of creating doubt and mistrust between ACTION -which would deny sending the letter but which could not be certain it was an act of an individual member, and any potential strength the Weatherman have in SL.

CONFIDENTIAL

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 175

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO :SAC, St. Louis (100-21213) DATE: 1/30/70

FROM :Director, FBI (100-449698)

SUBJECT:COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Reurlet 1/19/70.

Authority is granted to make the anonymous mailing to Ben Israel as suggested in relet.

In preparing this letter, all necessary steps are to be taken to protect the identity of this Bureau as the source.

Mailed 2-4-70

100-21213-71

SEARCHED.....INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....FILED.....
FEB 2 1970
FBI — SAINT LOUIS

WEBER

5010-108

NW 55289 DocId: 7000143 Page 176

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006) 1/30/70

SAC, ST. LOUIS (157-5818) P

CONFIDENTIAL

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUP
NEW LEFT
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Enclosed for the Bureau are two Xerox copies of a letter prepared by the St. Louis Division.

BACKGROUND

Mrs. JANE SIMON, a white female, age 33, is a local New Left figure who is an officer in ACTION, a local Black activist group whose members have engaged in numerous acts of civil disruption and disobedience, and a leader in the local branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), which group is active in draft resistance, anti-war rallies, and New Left activity. Her husband, RICHARD, remains aloof from her racial and New Left activities and is suspicious of her relationship with the Negro males in ACTION.

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

Recently [redacted] advised that JANE SIMON complained to her about her husband's suspicions and JANE was afraid he might severely restrict her activities. On 1/27/70, [redacted] a member of ACTION, reported that RICHARD SIMON had been discreetly inquiring as to whether his wife might be being unfaithful to him by sleeping with Negro males in ACTION. Informant is of the opinion that this is the case, although he has not confirmed this by personal experience.

RECOMMENDATION

CONFIDENTIAL

St. Louis proposes to ano nymously send a copy of the enclosed letter in commercial envelope, which would confirm Mr. SIMON's suspicions about his wife. The resulting marital tempest could well result in ACTION losing their

100-21213-72.

2 - Bureau (Enc. - 2) (RM)
2 - St. Louis
1 - 157-5818
1 - 100-21213
JAF: pdp
(4)

Classified by Weber ~~3067~~ 3078
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite

~~12/75~~ 12/4/74

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
FILED

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 177

Corresponding Secretary and the WILPF losing a valuable leader, thus striking a major blow against both organizations.

Bureau authority is requested to initiate this activity.

CONFIDENTIAL

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 178

2-14-70

Dear Ms. Simon CONFIDENTIAL

Took man I guess your old lady doesn't get enough at home or she wouldn't be shucking and jiving with our Black Men in ACTION, you dig? Like all she wants to integrate is the bed room and us Black Sisters ain't gonna take no second best from our men. So lay it on her, man— or get her the hell off Newstead.

A Soul Sister

CONFIDENTIAL

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 179

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698) 2/13/70

CONFIDENTIAL

SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-21213) P

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT
COINTELPRO - BLACK NATIONALIST -
HATE GROUPS

The following information is submitted regarding the counterintelligence activities by the SL Division in the past 90 days.

OPERATIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION

JANE SIMON, a leader in the Peace Information Center, St. Louis, Mo., and a member of ACTION, a black and white staffed SL organization has been very active in organizing demonstrations and considers herself very "radical". A reliable source has advised that SIMON, a white female, may be secretly meeting Negro male members of ACTION. SIMON's husband, a respected SL businessman, reportedly does not condone his wife's activities with the Peace Information Center or ACTION. SL, when a definite plan is formulated, will submit same to the Bureau for approval.

OPERATIONS BEING EFFECTED

By letter dated 1/19/70, SL requested a letter be sent to BENJAMIN ISRAEL, a SL area student attempting to organize a SDS Weatherman Collective, indicating that ACTION was disturbed at ISRAEL's attempt to gain publicity for himself in the SL area.

By let dated 1/30/70, the Bureau gave permission for the letter to be mailed.

CONFIDENTIAL

TANGIBLE RESULTS

None.

Declassified 3/31/77 Bw 6/14/77 JE

100-21213-73

3 - Bureau
(2 - 100-449698)
(1 - 100-448006)
3 - St. Louis
(2 - 100-21213)
(1 - 157-5818)
MJW/srb
(6)

Classified by 3067
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite
Declassified 11/6/75

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
FILED

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 180

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Of Boston Then, Santa Barbara Now

By JAMES J. KILPATRICK

SAN FRANCISCO. — Nearly 200 years have passed since the December day that Sam Adams urged his militants down the cobbled streets of Boston, but William Kunstler still is sipping today on their example. As an advocate of non-violence, up to a point, I wish him no harm; but all the same, I hope he chokes on this bogus cup of tea.

Kunstler trotted out the Tea Party parallel in a recent debate at Vanderbilt, and I see by press accounts that he is harping on the same theme elsewhere. As chief counsel to the purported revolutionaries of today, he is entitled to seize any defenses he can lay his hands on.

Yet some distinctions ought to be drawn before the notion takes hold that the Boston Tea Party and the Santa Barbara bank-burning are cousins across the years.

Superficially, it is true, some plausible points — even frivolous points — can be made. Thus it is remarked that today's militants wear their hair long; so, too, with Tom Jefferson two centuries ago. Today's demonstrators look at life through granny glasses; they go garbed in odd costumes. But behold the benign visage of bespectacled Ben Franklin and recall that Adams' men were painted up as Mohawk Indians.

☆ ☆ ☆ ☆

FURTHER ANALOGIES are pressed upon us. Kunstler's rebellious clients are mostly men under 30. Some of the greatest figures of the Revolution were as young. Hamilton was a fiery pamphleteer at 19; Henry took the Parson's cause at 23. Marshall, Madison, Jefferson, Gouverneur Morris were no older than some of the firebrands of Berkeley.

It is recalled that the revolutionary leaders of 1776 were literate men, well versed in classic learning; and it is noted that student leaders of 1970 are often honor students, class presidents, and student editors.

Still more: The most shining document in American history clearly asserts the right to throw off oppressive authority, once repeated petitions have resulted only in repeated injuries. This is precisely the cry of the Haydens and Rubins of today. The parallel that Kunstler draws between yesterday's Crown and today's Establishment — Justice Douglas draws the analogy also — has a splendid rhinestone appeal.

Yet it is sham. The American Revolution was a true revolution. Washington, Adams and Jefferson proposed to transform the colonies into free and independent states; they envisioned an entirely new form of government. They had a deeper vision also — of a new freedom for men.

Their ideals and concepts were clearly defined, first in the Declaration, then in the Articles of Confederation, still later in the Constitution and Bill of Rights.

The revolutionaries of 1776 proclaimed their intention out of a decent respect to the opinions of mankind. They placed their reliance upon Divine Providence, and they committed to their cause their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor.

☆ ☆ ☆ ☆

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

12A ST. LOUIS GLOBE-DEMOCRAT

Date: 5/7/70
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: SLMO

☐ Being Investigated

100-21213-78

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
MAY 11 1970
FBI — SAINT LOUIS

Weber

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 181

NO SUCH PARALLELS exist today. Most of today's destruction has no rational purpose. Respect is a word with three letters too many: It does not fit in the foul mouths of today's pamphleteers.

You will find no prayers in the underground press. And it is a curious balancing that equates Boston then with Boston now. Today's destroyers are the only marchers in history, as someone has said, who demand at the outset that they be thrown, if at all, to toothless lions.

And what of freedom? The very word dies underfoot in the howls of today's campus despots. O, they are very full of free speech for themselves, but they would deny free speech to others.

These are not young Jeffersons. Some of them are cradle Hitlers, whose sandaled feet are waiting to be shod.

Well, the reputation of Adams, Washington and Jefferson will survive today's brazen effort to rub respectability off their bones. What they built has endured. And so long as Americans are willing to fight for the structure of freedom they created, no Jacobins-come-lately are likely to tear it down.

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 182

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006) 3-5-70

SAC, ST. LOUIS (157-5818) P

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

The following information is submitted regarding the counterintelligence activities (Black Extremists) by the St. Louis Division in the past 90 days.

1. OPERATIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION

None

2. OPERATIONS BEING EFFECTED

By letter dated 2-17-70, the Bureau authorized the anonymous mailing of a letter from a "soul sister" to RICHARD SIMON, the husband of JANE SIMON. She is an officer in Action, a bi-racial Black extremist group. The letter accuses her of infidelity.

3. TANGIBLE RESULTS

No other counterintelligence operations were approved by the Bureau during the pertinent period.

4. DEVELOPMENTS OF COUNTERINTELLIGENCE INTEREST

Since the date of referenced letter, a new Black extremist group has been brought to the Bureau's attention. This organization, Black Nationalism, was raided by the St. Louis Police Dept., on 1-29-70, and a small cache of arms and Black Panther newspapers were confiscated. When specific plans for counterintelligence against this group are developed, Bureau authority will be requested.

3 - Bureau (RM)
2 - St. Louis
(1-157-5818)
(1-100-21213)
JAF:jad
(5)

100-21213-73A
157-5818-87

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
FILED

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 183

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

New left seeks not a revolution but rather a 'putsch' (seizure of power)

By Ayn Rand
(c) 1970 New York Times

EDITOR'S NOTE: Ayn Rand is the author of "The Fountainhead" and "Atlas Shrugged." This is the last of a series on the possibility of revolution in the United States.

THE NEW LEFT does not portent a revolution, as its press agents claim, but a putsch. A revolution is the climax of a long philosophical development and expresses a nation's profound discontent; a putsch is a minority's seizure of power. The goal of a revolution is to overthrow tyranny; the goal of a putsch is to establish it.

Tyranny is any political system (whether absolute monarchy or fascism or communism) that does not recognize individual rights (which necessarily include property rights).

The overthrow of a political system by force is justified only when it is directed against tyranny: it is an act of self-defense against those who rule by force. For example, the American Revolution. The resort to force not in defense, but in violation of individual rights, can have no moral justification; it is not a revolution, but gang warfare.

No revolution was ever spearheaded by wriggling, chanting drug addicts who are boastfully antirational, who have no program to offer, yet propose to take over a nation of 200 million, and who spend their time manufacturing grievances, since they cannot tap any authentic source of popular discontent.

Physically, America is not in a desperate state, but intellectually and culturally she is. The New Left is the product of cultural disintegration; it is bred not in the slums, but in the universities; it is not the vanguard of the future, but the terminal stage of the past.

Intellectually, the activists of the New Left are the most docile conformists. They have accepted as dogma all the philosophical beliefs of their elders

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

— Metro-East Journal
— ESL, Ill
—
— Page 36
—

Date: 5-20-70
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office:

☐ Being Investigated

100-21213-74

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED mel
MAY 27 1970
FBI — SAINT LOUIS
Weber

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 184

for generations: the notions that faith and feeling are superior to reason, that material concerns are evil, that love is the solution to all problems, that the merging of one's self with a tribe or a community is the noblest way to live.

There is not a single basic principle of today's establishment which they do not share. Far from being rebels, they embody the philosophic trend of the past 200 years (or longer): the mysticism-altruism - collectivism axis, which have dominated Western philosophy from Kant to Hegel to James and on down.

But this philosophic tradition is bankrupt. It crumbled in the aftermath of World War II. Disillusioned in their collectivist ideals America's intellectuals gave up the intellect. Their legacy is our present political system, which is not capitalism, but a mixed economy, a precarious mixture of freedom and controls. Injustice, insecurity, confusion, the pressure-group warfare of al against all, the amorality and futility of pragmatist, range-of-the-moment policies are the joint products of a mixed economy and of a philosophical vacuum.

There is a profound discontent, but the New Left is not its voice; there is a sense of bitterness; bewilderment and frustrated indignation, a profound anxiety about the intellectual-moral state of this country, a desperate need of philosophical guidance, which the church-and-tradition - bound conservatives were never able to provide and the liberals have given up.

Without opposition, the hoodlums of the New Left are crawling from under the intellectual wreckage. Theirs is the anti-industrial revolution, the revolt of the primordial brute — not, not against capitalism, but against capitalism's roots — against reason, progress, technology, achievement, reality.

What are the activists after? Nothing. They are not pulled by a goal, but pushed by the panic of mindless terror. Hostility, hatred, destruction for the sake of destruction are their momentary forms of escape. They are a desperate herd looking for a fuhrer.

They are not seeking any specific political system, since they cannot look beyond the "now." But the sundry little fuhrers who manipulate them as cannonfodder, do have a mongrel system in mind: a statist dictatorship with communist slogans and fascist policies. It is their last, frantic atempt to cash in on the intellectual vacuum.

Do they have a chance to succeed? No. But they might plunge the country into a blind, hopeless civil war, with nothing but some other product of anti-rationality, such as George C. Wallace, to oppose them.

Can this be averted? Yes. The most destructive influence on the nation's morale is not the young thugs, but the cunicism of respectable publications that hail them as "idealists." Irrationality is not idealistic; drug addiction is not idealistic; the bombing of public places is not idealistic.

What this country needs is a philosophical revolution — a rebellion against the Kantian tradition — in the name of the first of our founding fathers: Aristotle. This means a reassertion of the supremacy of reason, with its consequences: individualism, freedom, progress, civilization. What political system would it lead to? An untried one: full, laissez-faire capitalism. This will take more than a beard and a guitar.

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 185

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006) 6-19-70

SAC, ST. LOUIS (157-5818) (P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

The following information is submitted regarding the counterintelligence activities (Black Extremists) by the St. Louis Division in the past 90 days.

1. OPERATIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION

None

2. OPERATIONS BEING EFFECTED

None

3. TANGIBLE RESULTS

By letter dated 2-17-70, the Bureau authorized the anonymous mailing of a letter from a "soul sister" to RICHARD SIMON, the husband of JANE SIMON. She is an officer in ACTION, a bi-racial Black Extremist group. The letter accused her of infidelity.

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

On 6-12-70, [redacted] advised that JANE SIMON and her husband had recently separated, following a series of marital arguments. JANE has taken an apartment during this separation, which might become a permanent arrangement. This matrimonial stress and strain should cause her to function much less effectively in ACTION.

While the letter sent by the St. Louis Division was probably not the sole cause of this separation, it certainly contributed very strongly.

4. DEVELOPMENTS OF COUNTERINTELLIGENCE INTEREST

Factionalism has developed within the organization called Black Nationalism. When the best way to capitalize on this friction is determined, separate Bureau authority will be requested for such a counterintelligence operation.

3 - Bureau (RM)
2 - St. Louis
(1 - 157-5818)
(1 - 100-21213)
JAF:klm
(5)

Classified by 3067
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite
Classified 4/6/75

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
FILED

100-21213-75

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 186

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698) 9/30/70

SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-21213)

CONFIDENTIAL

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

OPERATIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION

[redacted], who in the past has been employed as an art critic and professional writer, has been an excellent source of information in the St. Louis Division in the anti-war, New Left area. Informant is judged to be above average in intelligence, initiative, and has the desire to expand her activities. Informant is being considered as the possible head of a new cover organization centered in the St. Louis Division. The new organization's proposed goals and scope are now being formulated and when specific guidelines are set, recommendations will be forwarded to the Bureau.

OPERATIONS BEING EFFECTED

None.

TANGIBLE RESULTS

None.

Classified by 3067
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite
Classified 1161175

CONFIDENTIAL

2 - Bureau (RM)
3 - St. Louis (1 - 100-21213)
(1 - 157-5818)

[redacted]

MJW:hcv
(5)

100-21213-76

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
FILED

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 187

DIRECTOR, FBI (105-174254) 10/8/70

SAC, ST. LOUIS (105-7440) P

COUNTER INTELLIGENCE AND
SPECIAL OPERATIONS
(RESEARCH SECTION)

CONFIDENTIAL

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

Re St. Louis letter to Bureau, 8/14/70.

The St. Louis Division is submitting for Bureau consideration the following outline for a proposed cover organization:

St. Louis would utilize [redacted] in the formation of an organization which would have as its purported objectives: (1) Be a receptacle for domestic and foreign anti-war and New Left literature over a period of time and thereby serve as a library. (2) Be a clearing house for current "movement literature" including extremist groups literature.

It is felt that because this organization would be a quasi-service organization for the movement, it would be able to have great flexibility in contacts and approaches and should have no chronological obsolescence. The proposed organizational name is Movement Information Library (MIL).

The referenced letter described [redacted] as a mature, white female, who provides coverage of New Left and anti-war groups in St. Louis. She is above-average in intelligence, imagination and initiative. She takes shorthand and has provided excellent coverage of meetings and conferences and is very willing to expand her current efforts.

[redacted] who has considerable organizational ability, could initially handle MIL by herself using her large home as a storage area and a local St. Louis Post Office box number for correspondence. Informant would be able to travel outside the St. Louis Division when necessary without being hindered by any employment obligations.

2 - Bureau (RM)
4 - St. Louis
(2 - 105-7440)
(2 - 100-21213)

[redacted]

MJW:ncv
(6)

CONFIDENTIAL

6136
Classified by 3067
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite

100-21213-77

Declassified 5L 4/11/95

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
FILED

Declass. — 12/4/74

NW: 15289 Docid: 10001143 Page 888

In establishing the MIL, an introduction letter explaining the organization's function and requesting cooperation would be sent to a selected mailing list. The mailing list would initially have to be limited to publications or organizations with which informant would have logical access. Suitable stationery and a post office box would be obtained locally.

It is noted that MIL would be operated completely apart from the Third World Revolutionary Council (racially oriented cover organization) which has been proposed by St. Louis in a separate communication. Because of their diverging objectives, it is not felt a union between the two would be feasible.

Bureau authority is requested to continue development of MIL and furnish to the Bureau a recommended initial mailing and mailing list. No action will be taken in this matter without Bureau authority.

CONFIDENTIAL

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 189

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

From the staff

Kunstler & Davis

CURIOUS, isn't it how "Left" anti-Communism seems to carry racism in its baggage, and an ability to dovetail with the current projects of the anti-Communists in power.

Take Attorney William Kunstler, for instance. The Oct. 26 Time magazine, in its article on Angela Davis' arrest quoted Kunstler, one of the lawyers in the Chicago conspiracy trial, as follows:

Angela Davis "now seems to be torn between the old-line theory and her friendship with black people. Remember, her education is all white-oriented—Brandeis, the Sorbonne, Marcuse.

"The differences between the (Communist) party and the movement are irreconcilable. The Communist party is against the young and their revolutionary activity."

Why did Time choose Kunstler to quote, and why that quote? Might it be that Time's bosses want to spread the idea in the middle class white Left that if she does not renounce her membership in the Communist party they should let the ruling class murder her?

Kunstler commits this service for Angela's executioners, of course from a left cover. As he recently told a Canadian press conference, "I am a registered Democrat, which is far more left wing than the Communist party of the U.S.A."

~~At least~~ he chooses ~~the party~~ of the class he serves.

"Her friendship with black people"—the racist gall. Angela Davis is black, a heroine and a leader of black people.

BUT KUNSTLER displays that common racist arrogance of much of the white Left. It will determine who is black. And it will decide what politics black people will be allowed to have. An Angela who is angry, militant, that's fine. It fits the condescending stereotype. They can vicariously celebrate her "revolutionary suicide."

What they can't stand is black people with their own politics. And especially not class conscious politics. It is too much of a challenge to the bankrupt, dead-end anti-Communist and anti-working class politics that has led so much of the middle class Left into irrelevance, unchecked by even a hint of self-criticism.

Kunstler is right about one thing. The differences between the Communist party and those sorts of politics are irreconcilable.

THE BITTER IRONY of all this is that throughout the history of the working class movement the "Left" anti-Communists have been swallowed up with the Communists when the fascists won because anti-Communism split the Left.

Either that, or, as in Cuba, they ended up with their mirror image anti-Communists in the camp of counter-revolution.

It is not Angela Davis who has to choose. It is Kunstler.

—BOB KAUFMAN

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

P 4, People's World, ~~San~~ San Francisco

Date: 10-31-70
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: SL

☐ Being Investigated

100-21213-78

SEARCHED ... INDEXED
SERIALIZED ... FILED
NOV 4 1970
FBI

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 190

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698) 1/12/71

SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-21213)

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT CONFIDENTIAL

Re St. Louis letter to Bureau, 9/30/70.

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

OPERATIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION

[redacted] is currently the director of Bureau cover organization, Movement Information Library (MIL), and operations concerning MIL will be submitted to the Bureau under that caption. (c)

OPERATIONS BEING EFFECTED

An initial mailing explaining MIL's purposes was recently sent to selected underground newspapers and extremist organizations. (c)

The Bureau will be furnished copy of pertinent MIL communications.

CONFIDENTIAL

Classified by 6922
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite
BU classified 11/29/74
SL " 11/6/75

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - St. Louis
1 - 100-21213
[redacted]

MJW:jms
(4)

100-21213-79

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 191

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698) 3-30-71

SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-21213)

CONFIDENTIAL

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Re St. Louis letter to Bureau, 1-12-71.

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

OPERATIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION

[redacted] is currently operating as the Director of Bureau Cover Organization, Movement Information Library (MIL), and operations concerning MIL will be submitted to the Bureau under that caption. (C)

OPERATIONS BEING EFFECTED

MIL has prepared a newsletter which it has sent to various organizations of interest to the Bureau. The Bureau is aware of this operation plus other operations currently being effected under the MIL caption. (C)

Per Bureau 6/14/77 jlw

Classified by 6922
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite
130 Classified 11/29/74
SL " 1/6/75

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - St. Louis
(1 - 100-21213)

[redacted]

MJW:jtc
(4)

WEBER

CONFIDENTIAL

100-21213-80

SERIALIZED
INDEXED

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 192

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, Albany

DATE: 4/8/71

FROM : Director, FBI (100-449698)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT
(COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT)

ReBulet 5/10/68.

Referenced letter instructed that each office submit to the Bureau every 90 days a status letter commenting on pending and potential counterintelligence action and on tangible results achieved under this program. Effective immediately, these 90-day status letters will no longer be required and should be discontinued. You must, however, continue aggressive and imaginative participation in this program and assure that we take full advantage of opportunities for counterintelligence. Specific Bureau approval will continue to be required for every counterintelligence action contemplated.

The Bureau will closely follow your efforts and accomplishments in this vital area.

2 - All Offices

100-21213-81

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
APR 12 1971
FBI - SAINT LOUIS

NW: 15289 Docid: 70001143 Page 193

0-9 (Rev. 5-22-64)

FBI

Date: 4/28/71 [redacted]

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via Airtel
(Priority)

To: SAC, Albany PERSONAL ATTENTION

From: Director, FBI

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAMS (COINTELPROS)
INTERNAL SECURITY - RACIAL MATTERS

Effective immediately, all COINTELPROS operated by this Bureau are discontinued. These include:

COINTELPRO - Espionage
COINTELPRO - New Left 100-21213
COINTELPRO - Disruption of White Hate Groups
COINTELPRO - Communist Party, USA
Counterintelligence and Special Operations
COINTELPRO - Black Extremists 157-5818
Socialist Workers Party - Disruption Program

In exceptional instances where it is considered counterintelligence action is warranted, recommendations should be submitted to the Bureau under the individual case caption to which it pertains. These recommendations will be considered on an individual basis.

You are reminded prior Bureau authority is required before initiating any activity of a counterintelligence nature.

2 - All Field Offices (PERSONAL ATTENTION)

[redacted]

100-21213-82

CE/BOMED SERIALIZED FILED
FBI — SAINT LOUIS

1-100-21213 - Counter NL
1-157-5818 - Counter BE

FRENCH
WEBER
Dobson

[redacted]

Sent Via _____ M Per _____

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 194

5/3/71

AIRTEL AIR MAIL CONFIDENTIAL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-461605)

FROM: SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-21213)

RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAMS (COINTELPROS)
INTERNAL SECURITY - RACIAL MATTERS

ReBuairtel to Albany captioned as above.

In view of information contained in reBuairtel that all COINTELPROS be immediately discontinued the Bureau is requested to specifically advise St. Louis whether cover organizations captioned as follows should be considered in these instructions.

MOVEMENT INFORMATION LIBRARY (MIL)
IS - MISC
(INTERNAL SECURITY)

THIRD WORLD REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL (TWRC)
IS - MISC
(INTERNAL SECURITY).

3 - Bureau
(2 - 100-461605)
(1 - 100-461114)
4 - St. Louis
(1 - 100-21213)
(1 - 157-5818 COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS)
(1 - 105-7562 MOVEMENT INFORMATION LIBRARY (MIL);
IS - MISC (INTERNAL SECURITY))
(1 - 105-7550 THIRD WORLD REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL (TWRC);
IS - MISC (INTERNAL SECURITY))

EBM:jtc
(7)

Classified by 3067
Exempt fr GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite

CONFIDENTIAL

Classified 12/15/75

100-21213-83

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED 77
INDEXED
FILED 77

105-562 RC
SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 195

SAC, St. Louis 5/12/71

Director, FBI

MOVEMENT INFORMATION LIBRARY (MIL)
IS - MISC
(INTERNAL SECURITY)
BUFILE: 100-461605
SLFILE: 105-7562

THIRD WORLD REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL (TWRC)
IS - MISC
(INTERNAL SECURITY)
BUFILE: 105-461114
SLFILE: 105-7550

ReSLairtel 5/3/71 captioned "Counterintelligence Programs (COINTELPROS)."

Although developed under the "Counterintelligence and Special Operations" caption, the MIL and TWRC operations are approved intelligence gathering techniques and should be continued to be implemented by your office.

Although all Bureau COINTELPROS have been discontinued as set out in Buairtel 4/28/71 to Albany and all offices, there is no objection to field submission of recommendations for special techniques and operations or for counterintelligence activity when it is felt such action is warranted. Recommendations in this regard should be submitted to the Bureau under the individual case caption to which the matter pertains.

Classified by 3347
Cat 2 2/5/25
Class & Sl 3/25/25

Confidential

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
MAY 13 1971
FBI — SAINT LOUIS

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 196

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Kelley Defends FBI Drive Against New Left

From Post-Dispatch News Services

WASHINGTON, Dec. 7 — Director Clarence M. Kelley of the Federal Bureau of Investigation today promised a full, detailed report on operations of a three-year progam launched by the late J. Edga Hoover "to expose, disrupt and otherwise neutralize" the New Left movement.

Kelley strongly defended the so-called counter-intelligence operation as a vital measure "to protect the fabic of our society."

Kelley promised the report to the Attorney General, indicating that it would not be made public immediately, and offered no additional information about the program's activities.

Hoover established the nationwide operation on May 10, 1968, and terminated it on April 28, 1971.

Sources have said the operation involved the use of agents-provocateurs to incite possible violent activities.

Two memorandums giving a general description of the operation were made public by the FBI yesterday after the Justice Depatment decided against appealing a court order that they be turned over to an NBC reporter.

The bulk of Kelley's statement today was devoted to a defense of the operation, beginning with an account of what he called "a hard-core revolutionary movement which . . . set out, in its own words to brming the government to its knees through the use of force and violence."

Kelley said the Government "would have been derelict in its duty had it not taken the measures to protect the fabric of our society."

He acknowledged that critics might condemn such activities and said he might agree to additional legislation governing the FBI's counterintelligence activities.

An informed Justice Department source said yesterday that

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

P18A, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, St. Louis, Missouri

Date: 12/7/73
Edition: Final
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: SL

☐ Being Investigated

100-21213-85

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
DEC 10 1973
FBI — SAINT LOUIS

Weber

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 197

the FBI possessed many other documents outlining specific activities of the nationwide attack on the New Left.

Hoover's program, known as COINTELPROS, was subdivided under such captions as Espionage, New Left, Disruption of White Hate Groups, Communist Party, Black Extremists and Socialist Workers Party. There was no other identification on the groups to be watched.

Hoover's blueprint portrayed the project as one of widespread information gathering about organizations and their key members.

"You are cautioned that the nature of this new endeavor is such that under no circumstances should the existence of the program be made known outside the Bureau," the memorandum said.

Hoover said the FBI might seek help of co-operative reporters or other outside sources, but cautioned there must be assurance that they would not "betray our confidences."

"The purpose of this program is to expose, disrupt and otherwise neutralize the activities of the various New Left organizations, their leadership and adherence," the memorandum said. "We must frustrate every effort of these groups and individuals to consolidate their forces or recruit new or youthful adherents."

Hoover said the FBI should expose to the public "Devious maneuvers and duplicity of these activists" and added that FBI officials should consider disrupting these activities.

Hoover said the Bureau had been investigating the New Left activities and he had become "Highly concerned that the anarchistic activities of a few can paralyze institutions of learning, induction centers and tie the arms of organizations . . ."

He said the activists who "spout revolution and unlawfully challenge society to obtain their demands must not only be contained but must be neutralized . . . Law and order is mandatory for any civilized society to survive."

The message ending the program, which was addressed to all field offices, said bluntly: "Effective immediately all COINTELPROS by this Bureau are discontinued." However, it provided methods to revive the program in exceptional circumstances. Hoover said these would be considered individually.

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 198

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

We're Glad He Did It

Now that it has been disclosed that the Federal Bureau of Investigation under the late J. Edgar Hoover conducted a three-year campaign of counterintelligence "to expose, disrupt and neutralize" the New Left movement it can be anticipated that liberals will try to use this to assassinate the late FBI director's character.

Our reaction is that we are exceedingly glad he ordered it. Many of these New Left groups were doing everything they could to undermine the government and some of them resorted to bombings, street riots and other gangster tactics. Others waged war on police across the nation and our system of justice. Still others disrupted the nation's campuses.

The nation can be thankful it had a courageous and strong leader of the FBI to deal with the serious threats posed by New Left groups during this period.

It is strange that the critics of Mr. Hoover have nothing to say about the savage attacks the New Left made upon our society, but are bending over backward ttrying to determine if Mr. Hoover and the FBI might have violated the "rights" of these revolutionaries.

Instead of trying to discredit a great public servant for standing up to these extremist hate groups, these detractors should consider what might have happened if the field had been left open to them.

We are confident that most Americans will have nothing to do with this latest attempt to tarnish the record of J. Edgar Hoover. No posthumous hate campaign can dim his distinguished career.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

P12, St. Louis Globe-Democrat, St. Louis, Missouri

Date: 12/11/73

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: SL

☐ Being Investigated

100-21213-86

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
DEC 13 1973
FBI — SAINT LOUIS

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 199

NR025 WA PLAIN

314PM URGENT 12-7-73 JTG

TO ALL SACS

FROM DIRECTOR 4P

BUREAU- WIDE INFORMATION PROGRAM 73-2.

RE MEMORANDUM TO ALL SPECIAL AGENTS IN CHARGE 52-73, DATED 11-27-73. WITH REGARD TO NEWS RELEASES RELATING TO THE RELEASE OF BUREAU DOCUMENTS TO NBC NEWSMAN CARL STERN, I HAVE ISSUED THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT TODAY. "AS THE RESULT OF A SUIT FILED AGAINST THE FBI UNDER THE FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT, THE COURT HAS DECIDED THAT CERTAIN DOCUMENTS MUST BE MADE PUBLIC CONCERNING A FORMER FBI PROGRAM, WHICH WAS KNOWN MORE COMMONLY BY ITS ACRONYM, 'COINTELPRO-NEW LEFT.' THESE DOCUMENTS WERE RELEASED YESTERDAY TO THE PLAINTIFF IN THE SUIT. BECAUSE OF THE MISCONCEPTIONS, MISAPPREHENSIONS, AND FALSE CONCLUSIONS THAT COULD BE DRAWN FROM PARTIAL DISCLOSURE OF THIS PROGRAM, IT IS APPROPRIATE THAT I EXPLAIN WHAT THE PROGRAM WAS ABOUT AND WHY IT WAS DEEMED NECESSARY WHEN IT WAS IMPLEMENTED IN MAY, 1968. IN THE LATE 1960'S, A HARD-CORE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT WHICH CAME TO BE KNOWN AS THE 'NEW LEFT' SET OUT, IN THEIR OWN WORDS, TO BRING THE GOVERNMENT

END PAGE ONE

Weber
Ahlers

100-21213-87

SEARCHED ..... INDEXED .....
SERIALIZED ..... FILED .....
DEC 7 1973
FBI — ST. LOUIS

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 200

TO ITS KNEES THROUGH THE USE OF FORCE AND VIOLENCE. WHAT STARTED AS NEW LEFT MOVEMENT CHANTING OF MARXIST-LENINIST SLOGANS IN THE EARLY YEARS OF THEIR "REVOLUTION" DEVELOPED INTO VIOLENT CONTEMPT, NOT ONLY FOR GOVERNMENT AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, BUT FOR EVERY RESPONSIBLE AMERICAN CITIZEN. DURING THESE YEARS, THERE WERE OVER 300 ARSONS OR ATTEMPTED ARSONS, 14 DESTRUCTIVE BOMBINGS, 9 PERSONS' KILLED, AND ALMOST 600 INJURED ON OUR COLLEGE CAMPUSES ALONE. IN THE SCHOOL YEAR 1968-69, DAMAGE OF COLLEGE CAMPUSES EXCEEDED 3 MILLION DOLLARS AND IN THE NEXT YEAR MOUNTED TO AN EXCESS OF 9.5 MILLION. IN THS ATMOSPHERE OF LAWLESSNESS IN THE CITIES MOBS OVERTURNED VEHICLES, SET FIRES, AND DAMAGED PUBLIC AND PRIVATE PROPERTY. THERE WERE THREATS TO SABOTAGE POWER PLANTS, TO DISRUPT TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATIONS FACILITIES. INTELLIGENCE SOURCES INFORMED THE FBI OF PLANS THAT WERE DISCUSSED TO POISON PUBLIC WATER SUPPLIES. AT THIS TIME OF NATIONAL CRISIS, THE GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE BEEN DERELICT IN ITS DUTY HAD IT NOT TAKEN MEASURES TO PROTECT THE FABRIC OF OUR SOCIETY. THE FBI HAS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF INVESTIGATING ALLEGATIONS OF CRIMINAL VIOLATIONS AND GATHERING INTELLIGENCE REGARDING THREATS TO THE COUNTRY'S SECURITY. BECAUSE OF THE VIOLENT ACTIONS OF THE LEADERSHIP OF THE NEW LEFT, FBI OFFICIALS CONCLUDED THAT SOME ADDITIONAL

END PAGE TWO

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 201

EFFORT MUST BE MADE TO NEUTRALIZE AND DISRUPT THIS REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT. THIS EFFORT WAS CALLED THE 'COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM - NEW LEFT' OR 'COINTELPRO-NEW LEFT.' WHILE THERE IS NO WAY TO MEASURE THE EFFECT OF THE FBI'S ATTEMPTS AT COUNTERSUBVERSION, I BELIEVE THAT IT DID HAVE SOME IMPACT ON THE CRISIS AT THAT TIME. NOW, IN THE CONTEXT OF A DIFFERENT ERA WHERE PEACE HAS RETURNED TO THE COLLEGE CAMPUSES AND REVOLUTIONARY FORCES NO LONGER POSE A MAJOR THREAT TO PEACE AND TRANQUILITY OF OUR CITIES, SOME MAY DEPLORE AND CONDEMN THE FBI'S USE OF A COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM - EVEN AGAINST HOSTILE AND ARROGANT FORCES WHICH OPENLY SOUGHT TO DESTROY THIS NATION. I SHARE THE PUBLIC'S DEEP CONCERN ABOUT THE CITIZEN'S RIGHT TO PRIVACY AND THE PRESERVATION OF ALL RIGHTS GUARANTEED UNDER THE CONSTITUTION AND BILL OF RIGHTS. I HAVE EXPRESSED THIS CONCERN ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS SINCE BECOMING DIRECTOR OF THE FBI. THE ACTING ATTORNEY GENERAL AND I HAVE DISCUSSED THIS SITUATION, AND WE BOTH AGREED THAT AN EVALUATION OF FBI REACTIONS IN NATIONAL SECURITY EMERGENCIES ALREADY UNDER WAY SHOULD BE CONTINUED. I PLAN TO MAKE A FULL REPORT TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL. WHILE SUCH A COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM MAY

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 202

NOT BE THE ANSWER, THERE MUST BE SOME EFFECTIVE WAY FOR THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO MEET THE CHALLENGE POSED BY THOSE WHO WILL USE ANY MEANS TO FOMENT REVOLUTION. MR. BORK AND I BOTH FEEL THAT PERHAPS ADDITIONAL LEGISLATION IS REQUIRED, AND THIS IS BEING GIVEN THOROUGH STUDY. WE MUST CAREFULLY DEFINE FBI RESPONSIBILITIES AND AUTHORITY SO THAT WE CAN CONTINUE TO FULFILL THE FBI'S OBLIGATIONS TO THE CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES."

FOR YOUR INFORMATION THE TWO DOCUMENTS RELEASED WERE BUREAU MEMORANDUM TO ALBANY, COPIES TO ALL OFFICES, DATED 5-10-68, CAPTIONED "COUNTER INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM, INTERNAL SECURITY, DISRUPTION OF NEW LEFT"; AND BUREAU AIRTEL TO SAC, ALBANY, COPIES TO ALL OFFICES, DATED 4-28-71 CAPTIONED "COUNTER INTELLIGENCE PROGRAMS (COINTELPROS), INTERNAL SECURITY - RACIAL MATTERS," COPIES OF WHICH SHOULD BE IN YOUR FILES. IN THE EVENT YOU RECEIVE ANY INQUIRY CONCERNING THIS MATTER YOU MAY RELEASE TO THE MEDIA COPIES OF MY STATEMENT AS SET FORTH ABOVE. HOWEVER, YOU SHOULD NOT ELABORATE ON THIS STATEMENT IN ANY MANNER. UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES SHOULD YOU MAKE AVAILABLE COPIES OF THE RELEASED DOCUMENTS. HOWEVER, IN THE EVENT YOU RECEIVE REQUESTS FROM ANY MEDIA REPRESENTATIVES FOR COPIES OF THE RELEASED DOCUMENTS, YOU SHOULD REFER THEM TO FBI HEADQUARTERS.

END

FBI SL RCG

TU CL

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 203

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

FBI To Require Authorization For Spying

HOUSTON, Dec. 14 (UPI)— Clarence Kelley, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, said last night that his agents would not serve as domestic spies unless they received explicit congressional approval.

"Counter-intelligence programs stopped in 1971 and they have not been resumed," Kelley said. "The practice will not be resumed unless there is some sort of activity authorized by the legislature in a crisis type situation.

"In all probability, it would be a situation where there is a very evident danger to the security of our nation through the speaking and actions of revolutionaries."

Two FBI memos disclosed Dec. 6 said a program begun under Kelley's predecessor, J. Edgar Hoover, was designed to "expose, disrupt and otherwise neutralize the activities of the various new left organizations and their leadership."

Although Kelley said the FBI would not engage in any more of these clandestine domestic operations, the files from the earlier operations will not be destroyed and "we will not make them available to outsiders."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

P13, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, St. Louis, Missouri

Date: 12/14/73
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: SL

☐ Being Investigated

100-2/213-55

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
DEC 1973
FBI — SAINT LOUIS

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 204

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Questions Drive On New Left

WASHINGTON, Dec. 13 (UPI) — Acting Attorney General Robert H. Bork wants the Federal Bureau of Investigation's counterintelligence operations against the New Left examined.

Bork described the planned review yesterday as an analysis if FBI policies and programs including investigative techniques begun by William D. Ruckelshaus during his brief term as FBI director earlier this year. Bork said he would put a "top priority" flag on the investigation and leave it for the next Attorney General, presently Senator William B. Saxbe, (Rep.), Ohio.

One phase of the review concerns what the FBI actually did during a three year counterintelligence program that the late director J. Edgar Hoover set up to combat violent activities of New Left organizations.

The FBI last Thursday made public a Hoover memorandum setting up the program in 1968. It was called off without explanatoin, in a 1971 memorandum. Details of the operation have not been made public.

"It seems worth looking into," Bork told reporters yesterday in an informal press conference before the Senate Judiciary Committe opened confirmation hearings on Saxbe.

"If it was disrupting legal political activity, that is wrong," Bork said. "I don't know that anything illegal happened. Kelley has been asked to tell us what happened." He referred to FBI director, Clarence M. Kelley, who succeeded Ruckelshaus last July 9.

Kelley has defended the Hoover program, saying the Government had to respond to the dangerous violence some New Left groups were fomenting. But Kelley says he agrees that the FBI's policy in responding to "national security emergencies" needs a new evaluation.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Pll, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, St. Louis, Missouri

Date: 12/13/73
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: SL

☐ Being Investigated

100-21213-89

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED
SERIALIZED ____ FILED
DEC 1973
FBI — SAINT LOUIS

NW: 15289 DocId: 7000114 Page 205

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

'New Left' behind national violence

By VICTOR RIESEL

WASHINGTON. — Terror, sometimes amateurish, offtimes subtle, always bombastic and always significant, is sweeping across the nation. It's going unnoticed as a national phenomenon. Reporting is regional.

But there have been political kidnappings. Bankers and industrialists have been warned to offer, in the image of Argentine abductions, a million dollars each as protection money and advance ransoms — or else.

Revolutionary groups and their commando squads have hit and run on a front ranging from New York to Detroit. Plants have been seized. Unions have been attacked.

Yet counteraction has been manacled. A successful suit by a television network has fostered the disclosure by the FBI of an old counterinsurgence memo issued by the late J. Edgar Hoover in 1968.

Unfortunately, few have analyzed this containment memo. Thus it's interpreted as the Bureau's alleged attempt to invade the philosophical and political privacy of legal leftist organizations. Untrue.

In this memorandum, the late director called for the espionage, infiltration and disruption of organizations of arsonists, bombers, killers and raiders. They were — and are — what V. I. Lenin himself called "infantile leftists."

At the same time, Hoover's men were probing the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and other white hate groups such as the National (Nazi) Socialist White People's Party, as well as black extremists who were ambushing and murdering police.

☆ ☆ ☆

BETWEEN THE ISSUANCE of the first "COINTELPRO — New Left" memo on May 14, 1968 and a few months ago (some three years after the directive was recalled by Hoover himself), the so-called New Left cost American colleges over $17 million in damages. There were over 1,000 (sometimes bloody) demonstrations on campus and 31 major bombings.

Few realize that 13 persons were killed. Some 750 were seriously injured and 330 arsons were counted.

If burning of book is venal — and it is — why is the burning of universities and libraries less evil?

Yet there now is an effort to fantasize this organized revolutionary violence into a sort of goldfish era college prank. It wasn't. For, in addition to campus violence, scores of millions of dollars in damage was suffered on the commercial and industrial fronts.

Insiders believe this latter phenomen is about to be repeated.

When FBI director Clarence Kelley released Hoover's acronymic memo "COINTELPRO — New Left," he said recently: "In this atmosphere of lawlessness in the cities, mobs overturned vehicles, set fires, and damaged public and private property. There were threats to sabotage power plants, to disrupt transportation and communications facilities. Intelligence sources informed the FBI of plans that were discussed to poison public water supplies."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

14A St. Louis Globe Democrat

Date: 1/22/74
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: St. Louis

☐ Being Investigated

100-212*

100-212 13-90

SEARCHED ___ INDEXED ___
SERIALIZED ___ FILED ___
JAN 23 1974
FBI — SAINT LOUIS

NW: 15289 Docid: 70001145 Page 206

☆ ☆ ☆

THUS DID DIRECTOR KELLEY speak of the era when Director Hoover issued the "COINTELPRO — New Left" order. Hoover's directive began: "Effective immediately, the Bureau is instituting a counterintelligence program directed against the New Left movement and its key activists ... The purpose of this program is to expose, disrupt, and otherwise neutralize the activities of the various New Left organizations, their leadership and adherents."

Hoover's directive was aimed at counterintelligence, countersabotage, prevention of deception of young people — and disclosure by frank cooperation with the press. It's all in the memo.

But the memorandum has been so deliberately misinterpreted that new legislation now is being studied to enable a counteroffensive against the new New Left.

There are renovated new-leftist outfits which talk of revolution and seizure, such as the Progressive Labor Party and its Workers Student Alliance and Workers Action Movement (nonexistent in the "old days" of Hoover), the Revolutionary Union, the Revolutionary Socialist League, the Trotskyites, the still underground Weather People dedicated to bombings and "Viet Cong" techniques, and the violence-oriented National Caucus of Labor Committees.

And all of them aim at disruption of today's commercial-industrial complex. There was nothing wrong with — and it would not be wrong to reactivate — the old "COINTELPRO — New Left" directive. Conspiratorial violence continues.

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 207

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

jake mc carthy
a personal opinion

Playing Disruption

THE GOVERNMENT HAS NOW ADMITTED, as the Watergate mentality unravels more, that it engaged in a program of harassment and disruption against a very small group of leftists called the Socialist Workers Party.

This column referred not long ago to a lawsuit filed by the Socialist Workers Party against the Government, through noted civil liberties attorney Leonard Boudin, alleging illegal acts against it. The party is a Trotskyite Marxist group, characterized by anti-Stalinism, rhetorically revolutionist and openly urging a Socialist state. It runs candidates for political office, including Presidential candidates, and is visible for all to see. But the party's candidate never got enough votes to keep a capitalist awake at night.

There may be some citizens who think it's un-American to be anticapitalist, a notion carefully fostered in most of our schoolbooks. So they may think it's okay to violate law and decency in order to put the Socialist Workers Party out of business. But Watergate reminds us that some of the same tactics were attempted against the majority party in America, to judge by the make-up of Congress. And that what can be done to the left could be done to the right as well.

What the Government acknowledged last month was that it has conducted a "SWP Disruption Program" between 1961 and 1969; that it has investigated persons who "indicate" they are members of the party, and that from 1945 to 1963, the Federal Bureau of Investigation had conducted electronic surveillance of certain members of the party.

IT ADMITTED FURTHER that the Civil Service Commission has investigated party members in Government employ; that the Army has investigated party members in the military service of their country; that there was a wire tap on the home of the party's national chairman, and that just last year a "mail cover" was maintained on the party's national headquarters for almost four months. A mail cover means that Government agents look at envelopes addressed to you before you do.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

P3, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, St. Louis, Missouri

Date: 2/4/74
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: SL

☐ Being Investigated

100-21213-91

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED
SERIALIZED ____ FILED
FEB 5 1974
FBI — SAINT LOUIS

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 208

These admissions were made in a document filed in U.S. District Court by the United States Attorney for the Southern District of New York. He admitted also that FBI agents "may have" disclosed affiliation of members of the Socialist Workers Party and its youth wing, the Young Socialist Alliance, to landlords and employers, and induced members of the organization to spy for the Government on party activities.

And in answer to charges that Government agents had been involved in the bombing or burglary of certain Socialist Workers Party offices, the U. S. Attorney copped a plea by saying that even if the allegations were true, the agents would not have been acting "in excess of their statutory authority."

I used to accept all of that as a way of life, before Watergate showed us where it might have taken us. Military spying on Henry A. Kissinger and reports that the Joint Chiefs of Staff got copies of top-secret messages to our ambassador in Saigon say something about how perilously close we might have got to a military dictatorship.

WE ALL TOOK IT pretty humorously in Chicago in 1968, when I helped to cover the Democratic convention for Ramparts Magazine. We also put out a "Daily Wall Poster" which was supposed to chart the movements of the Movement, but it was so confused nobody really knew where anybody else was. We put it out after the Pump Room closed. I never saw Jerry Rubin or Abbie Hoffman in our offices, in a plush suite in the Ambassador West Hotel.

Instead, it was a place where people like Jules Feiffer and I. F. Stone congregated. One night, Feiffer took a group of us to Hugh Hefner's famous mansion just to the north, where we swam in the legendary bunny pool, but nothing very revolutionary happened. After the convention ended, some guy in the next room at the Ambassador moved a bunch of electronic equipment out, and Warren Hinckle, then Ramparts editor and a true capitalist, wrote a tongue-in-cheek piece about it. But we mostly wondered if the agent had been able to follow us to the Playboy Mansion and to discover with us that it's pretty droll.

We used to laugh about those things, but Watergate and the dimension of it took the mirth out of knowing that Big Brother was truly watching us. Because the people President Nixon hired weren't really playing cops and robbers. They were playing disruption. And maybe takeover.

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 209

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Saxbe And Kelley Clash On FBI Curb

WASHINGTON, Nov. 19 (AP) — Attorney General William B. Saxbe has refused to go along with a request from the Federal Bureau of Investigation for legislation authorizing "dirty tricks" in emergencies against domestic political organizations.

The split between Saxbe and FBI director Clarence M. Kelley arose at a press conference yesterday. The Attorney General denounced the disruptive tactics employed in FBI counterintelligence operations for the 15 years ending in 1971.

Saxbe said he had taken steps to prevent a repetition of such tactics. But he indicated that he was against any legislation forbidding them outright. "I don't think that you can pass laws that would completely foreclose any such activities," he said.

Instead, Saxbe urged Congress to establish a joint House-Senate committee to monitor the daily operations of the FBI.

On the other side, Kelley asked for legislation to permit the FBI "under emergency situations, to do some things which counteract the effectiveness" of militant groups at the extremes of the political spectrum.

Kelley has been pushing the proposal for almost a year, but the Department of Justice has refused to adopt it.

Saxbe and Kelley differed also in their appraisal of the tactics used by the late FBI director, J. Edgar Hoover, against the Communist Party U.S.A., the Socialist Workers Party, black extremist groups, white hate groups and the New Left.

Saxbe said it was improper for the FBI to engage in "positive disruptive activites" against domestic organizations in any circumstances.

But Kelley defended the operation. He said he was convinced that FBI employes "acted entirely in good faith and within the bounds of what was expected of them by the President, the Attorney General, the Congress and the American people."

He cited the activities of militants in the 1960s and acknowledged that the FBI had attempted to disrupt "violence-prone groups." However, he contended that "for the FBI to have done less under the circumstances would have been an abdication of its responsibilities to the American people."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

P4A, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, St. Louis, Missouri

Date: 11/19/74
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: SL

☐ Being Investigated

100-21213-92

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
NOV 22 1974
FBI — SAINT LOUIS

NW 1528 Docid: 70001143 Page 210

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Saxbe says FBI kept plan against radicals to itself

By Associated Press

WASHINGTON — Attorney General William B. Saxbe says the FBI apparently failed to report regularly to the attorney general on a counterintelligence program it aimed at radical and extremist groups.

He said a report on the counterintelligence operation, revealed during the weekend, will be discussed Monday, but he did not say whether it will be released by the Justice Department.

Appearing on NBC's "Meet the Press" Sunday, Saxbe said there is no such program now. But he declined to discuss in detail reports that the FBI ran such a program for 15 years.

ASKED WHETHER any attorney general had been aware of the program, Saxbe said, "I can't be sure . . . As far as direct regular reports, I don't think so."

A copy of the draft FBI report on the program, supplied by columnist Jack Anderson, indicates the plan, known as Cointelpro, included such activities as forged credentials, sham organizations, anonymous letters and leaking of derogatory information.

According to the report, the program was against the New Left, black extremists, white hate groups, the Socialist Workers Party and the U.S. Communist Party.

Saxbe warned such a program could develop again.

"It could always develop," he said. "You could have Watergate happen again, you could have all these things happen again if the people in the Congress aren't interested."

SAXBE SAID THE answer is continual vigilance and "I'm not worried about its happening while I'm here."

He said current FBI operations concentrate on criminal intelligence.

"We work diligently to find criminal intelligence that will lead to prosecution, that is our role . . . " he said.

Asked about Jewish and Arab organizations within the United States, Saxbe said terrorist groups are watched, but over-all surveillance of such organizations is minimal.

On reports of possible changes in President Ford's Cabinet, Saxbe said he has no plans to leave office.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

P12A, St. Louis Globe-Democrat, St. Louis, Missouri

Date: 11/18/74
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: SL

☐ Being Investigated

100-21213-93

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
NOV 22 1974
FBI — SAINT LOUIS

15

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 211

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Kelley Hedges On Activist Role Of FBI

WASHINGTON, Nov. 21 (UPI) — Clarence M. Kelley, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, refused under repeated prodding by House members yesterday to promise he would under no circumstances revive the secret bureau programs conducted in the 1960s to disrupt activist political groups.

Kelley, under questioning by members of the House judiciary subcommittee on constitutional rights, would only go so far as to say he would not revive the "Cointelpro" activity, instituted by J. Edgar Hoover, without prior approval of the Attorney General. Cointelpro was a secret counterintelligence program mainly against radical and extremist groups.

Other department of Justice officials were on hand but the questioning focused on Kelley because of his statement last Monday defending Cointelpro despite a finding of a Department of Justice committee that it included activities "that are reprehensible in a free society."

Cointelpro included an active FBI role in surveillance, infiltration, and planned disruption of domestic political groups by defaming them and their leaders—sometimes with forged materials; sometimes with secret investigative information. It apparently was established and conducted without the knowledge of anyone outside the FBI.

The purpose was to disorganize and discredit the groups. Targets ranged from violence-oriented leftist and black extemists to the Urban League and the National Student Association.

Kelley said that Hoover was responding to a wave of violence directed at overthrowing the government and that the FBI would be "abdicating its duty" if it had not sought to disrupt the organizations he felt were fominting disorder.

Kelley said he had concluded some of the disruptive activities were "improper" violations of constitutional rights of the members of the target organizations but refused to say he would not favor reviving Cointropro programs if circumstances warranted.

"If I see any extraordinary situation in which extraordinary moves are needed to counteract it, I would present it to the Department of Justice," Kelley said.

At this point Representative Robert F. Drinan (Dem.), Massachusett, said, "I think we would be happy if Mr. Kelley would say he would not do it even if the Attorney General gave into him."

Kelley remained silent.

Representative Jerome R. Waldie, (Dem.), California, said the subcommittee was left with the problem of having only Kelley's word that he would first go to the Attorney General.

"I don't think Mr. Kelley is capable of respecting that responsibility," Waldie said. "I have found no evidence that gives me confidence that he is capable of respecting that responsibility."

Deputy Attorney General Laurence Silberman, seated beside Kelley, said both he and Attorney General William B. Saxbe, who was out of town, had a close working relation with the FBI and complete confidence in Kelley.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

P8E, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, St. Louis, Missouri

Date: 11/21/74
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: SL

☐ Being Investigated

100-21213-94

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
NOV 22 1974
FBI — SAINT LOUIS

NW: 15289 Docld:70001145 Page 2

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

FBI counteraction against 'crazies'

By VICTOR RIESEL

WASHINGTON. — There was an era, not too long ago, when our cities "were for burning." In one year, 1967, huge fires lit bloodied streets, 85 persons died in riots, 3,200 people were badly injured as violence swept over the slithery gutters — and property damage ran to $100 million.

And not long afterwards, the nation's campuses erupted. Flames. Explosions. Rioting. Seizures of university buildings and mauling of faculties. In the first eight months of 1969 — damage ran to $9 million on college grounds alone. There were deaths and severe injuries.

Thus, to rush to the need of the times — and remember that in one year, revolutionaries killed 13 police — the FBI updated and expanded its Counterintelligence Program now known as "Cointelpro." The FBI delved into hate groups, terrorists, revolutionists, white and black. And into the sub-culture conspirators, some now underground and some still violence prone, operating openly.

Now thanks to the incaution of Attorney General Saxbe the impression extant is that the FBI went in for dirty tricks. This is an overreaction to the shoddiness of Watergatism.

Before anyone rushes in where Saxbe doesn't fear to tread, one should examine again the nature of internal and international terrorism, radical dissidents (justifying "people's" court executions of judges here and abroad, for example) and avowed revolutionism.

LOOK, FOR EXAMPLE, at what the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) has been doing with its new security regulations. This must be distinguished from the weapons side of the commission.

There now are some 600 private industrial and educational AEC licensees. Of these almost 100 have enough SNM (special nuclear material) to warrant special protective regulations. For SNM has been in their corporate and institutional possession, and has been shipped in sufficient quantity to be stolen easily and an atomic bomb constructed just as easily.

So the problem of shipping plutonium and other SNM quantities safely — not only from the viewpoint of radiation but from the need of security from robbery — has become intense. The AEC is anticipating steady SNM movements in ever-increasing amounts and distances.

Its security people, now headed by Maj. Gen. Frederic Davison, new Director of the AEC Division of Safeguards and Security, contemplated uneasily the recent terrorist seizure of the British aircraft by what even the Palestine Liberation Organization considers "crazies."

And they have asked themselves — what if sufficient SNM were stolen in any fashion from within, or without a plant, during shipment or storage to make a bomb? And some terrorists, revolutionaries by any name, or blackmailers hold, not a plane, but a city as hostage?

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

P8A, St. Louis Globe-Democrat, St. Louis, Missouri

Date: 12/5/74
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: SL

☐ Being Investigated

100-2/213-95

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
DEC 6 1974
FBI — SAINT LOUIS

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 213

CERTAINLY the AEC's new regulations now call for specially protected convoys of plutonium shipments. Special armed carriers. Specially designed trailers. Cars protecting cars protecting the SNM carrier. Armed guards to escort all air and sea SNM shipments. And only on U.S. registered carriers. Rail shipments accompanied by five armed guards. Etc.

But it is much more comforting to know that Clarence Kelley's FBI men are infiltrating terrorist and revolutionary groups, keeping them under surveillance and perhaps bugging them in more ways than one. And also, could be, using some form of Cointelpro.

There is an FBI-AEC liaison system. The bureau could report swiftly any terrorist decision to target an SNM shipment, or a power plant or atomic "warehouses." Who wants a city or a skyscraper held for ransom? A captive aircraft on an isolated runway is enough.

So there's a need for FBI counteraction. Today's Marxists aren't Norman Thomas-type Socialists with a volume of "Das Kapital" in one hand and a girl in the other. And, says a high FBI spokesman, "We welcome constant oversight (inspection) to prevent any abuse of the authority given us."

Let's have some realism. These are explosive times.

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 214

COINTELPROS -- DOCUMENTS CLASSIFIED

5 JL

SPECIFIC COINTELPRO PROGRAM: New Left

IDENTITY OF DOCUMENT (TYPE, DATE & TITLE)	CLASSIFICATION	CLASSIFYING OFFICER (#)	EXEMPTION CATEGORY	DATE CLASSIFIED	FIELD OFFICE	FILE & SERIAL NUMBER OF COPIES IN OTHER BUFILES
NO let - 6/28/68, Cointelpro-NL 100-449698-33-4	Confidential	6922	2	11/29/74	NO	
NO let, 6/13/68, Cointelpro-NL 100-449698-33-1	"	"	"	"	"	
NY let, 2/3/70 Cointelpro-NL 100-449698-34-79	"	"	"	12/2/74	NY	
Cadet to NY, 12/1/69, Cointelpro-NL 100-449698-34-76	"	"	"	"	NY	
NYAT, 9/18/69, Cointelpro-NL 100-449698-34-71	"	"	"	"	"	
NYAT, 8/28/69, Cointelpro-NL 100-449698-34-70	"	"	"	"	NY, CO, CV, DE, LA DH, SF, WFO	
Summo, 9/17/70, Cointelpro-NL 100-449698-97L	"	"	2	"	—	
AL let, 9/14/70, Cointelpro-NL 100-449698-971	"	"	2	"	AL	
EP let, 3/26/70, Cointelpro-NL 100-449698-926	"	"	"	"	EP	
SL let, 3/30/71, Cointelpro-NL 100-449698-42-20	"	"	"	"	SL	80
SL let, 1/12/71 Cointelpro-NL 100-449698-42-19	"	"	"	"	SL	79
SL let, 1/8/69, Cointelpro-NL 100-449698-42-12	"	"	"	"	SL	100-3213-43
Cadet to WFO 2/9/71 Cointelpro-NL 100-449698-53-49	"	"	"	12/3/74	WFO	
WFO let, 1/29/71, Cointelpro-NL 100-449698-53-49	"	"	"	"	WFO	
WFO let, 10/9/70, Cointelpro-NL 4WF 1913 100-449698-53	"	"	FOIA(b)(7) -(D)	"	WFO	
WFO let, 2/3/70 Cointelpro-NL 100-449698-53-34	"	"	"	"	WFO, NY	
WFO let, 11/25/68 Cointelpro-NL 100-449698-53-19	"	"	"	"	WFO	

NW 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 215

0-9 (Rev. 2-14-74)

FBI

Transmit in _____ Via Airtel _____
(Type in plaintext or code) (Precedence)

12/24/74
(Date)

To: SAC, Albany

From: Director, FBI (100-449698)

NEW LEFT
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BUDED: 1/24/75

FBIHQ is in receipt of a request under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) for documents relating to captioned discontinued program. In accordance with policy established earlier this year, HQ has reviewed all sections of its files relating to this program and individually classified all serials determined to be classifiable, it being noted the Department has previously been advised we would take this action when documents become subject to a request for public disclosure.

Enclosed for Albany, Baltimore, Boston, Buffalo, Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Denver, Detroit, El Paso, Houston, Indianapolis, Knoxville, Little Rock, Los Angeles, New Haven, New Orleans, New York, Philadelphia, St. Louis, San Antonio, San Francisco, Seattle, Springfield and Washington Field Offices is a work paper setting forth identities of copies of documents which have been currently classified which must also be classified in respective field office files. Each recipient of the work paper is instructed to review it to insure all copies of the documents listed as classified at HQ are classified in the same manner in the respective field office program file. In each instance where a document has been

Enclosure
2 - Albuquerque
2 - Alexandria
2 - Anchorage
2 - Atlanta
Dissemination continued page two.

(This line for LEFT MARGIN.)

(Do not type BEYOND THIS MARGIN.)

(Do not type below this line.)

100-21213-88

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
DEC 26 1974
FBI - ST. LOUIS

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 216

Airtel to Albany
Re: New Left
Counterintelligence Program
100-449698

Dissemination continued:

2 - Baltimore (Enc.)
2 - Birmingham
2 - Boston (Enc.)
2 - Buffalo (Enc.)
2 - Butte
2 - Charlotte
2 - Chicago (Enc.)
2 - Cincinnati (Enc.)
2 - Cleveland (Enc.)
2 - Columbia
2 - Dallas
2 - Denver (Enc.)
2 - Detroit (Enc.)
2 - El Paso (Enc.)
2 - Honolulu
2 - Houston (Enc.)
2 - Indianapolis (Enc.)
2 - Jackson
2 - Jacksonville
2 - Kansas City
2 - Knoxville (Enc.)
2 - Las Vegas
2 - Little Rock (Enc.)
2 - Los Angeles (Enc.)
2 - Louisville
2 - Memphis
2 - Miami

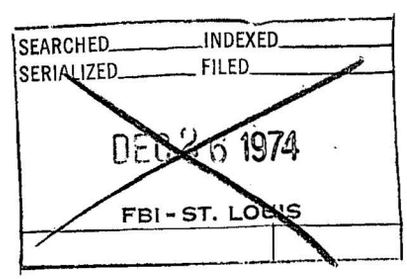
Dissemination continued page three.

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 217

Airtel to Albany
Re: New Left
Counterintelligence Program
100-449698

Dissemination continued:

2 - Milwaukee
2 - Minneapolis
2 - Mobile
2 - Newark
2 - New Haven (Enc.)
2 - New Orleans (Enc.)
2 - New York (Enc.)
2 - Norfolk
2 - Oklahoma City
2 - Omaha
2 - Philadelphia (Enc.)
2 - Phoenix
2 - Pittsburgh
2 - Portland
2 - Richmond
2 - Sacramento
2 - St. Louis (Enc.)
2 - Salt Lake City
2 - San Antonio (Enc.)
2 - San Diego
2 - San Francisco (Enc.)
2 - San Juan
2 - Savannah
2 - Seattle (Enc.)
2 - Springfield (Enc.)
2 - Tampa
2 - WFO (Enc.)



NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 218

classified in the HQ file, it will be necessary that the same classification, number of classifying officer, exemption category and date classified be noted on the field office original or copy of the communication. In every instance, the date of declassification will be indicated as "Indefinite."

In instances where the information set forth in the enclosed work paper is not clear, or set forth in a manner which does not permit location of the field office document to be classified, HQ should be advised and further information will be forwarded. All correspondence concerning this matter should, if possible, contain the number of the work paper page(s) (located at center top) in question.

In connection with this classification project, you should refer to the Manual of Rules and Regulations, Part II, Section 4, pages 53-57b, for instructions relating to classification procedures. Any questions regarding classification matters should be directed to FBIHQ, attention: Classification Officer.

In addition to classifying documents in field office files which have already been classified at HQ, it will be incumbent upon each recipient having a New Left-Cointelpro file to review it to insure all other documents which are classifiable are appropriately classified. This will include both intraoffice documents as well as documents furnished to other offices. In instances where another office has been furnished copies of a document, it is the responsibility of the originating office to furnish all recipients (excluding FBIHQ) sufficient information so they may classify their copies of the document in the same manner as the originator. Recipients not receiving work papers should review indices to insure any classifiable New Left-Cointelpro material in their files is classified.

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 219

In classifying a document on a retroactive basis, bear in mind it is necessary to include the date the document was classified at FBIHQ, and the date the classification is actually affixed if classified in the field.

You will note the enclosed work papers indicate other FBIHQ files which contain copies of documents which appear in this program file, which also must be classified. FBIHQ is undertaking this classification. It will be incumbent upon each recipient to insure all copies of documents classified in its program file are also appropriately classified if they appear in any of its other office files.

This project must be handled on an expeditious basis and be completed by 1/24/75. Insure sufficient personnel are assigned to meet this deadline. On or before 1/24/75 FBIHQ must be advised by each recipient of the completion of the project. Any problems relating to this project should be expeditiously furnished FBIHQ together with appropriate recommendations.

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001143 Page 220